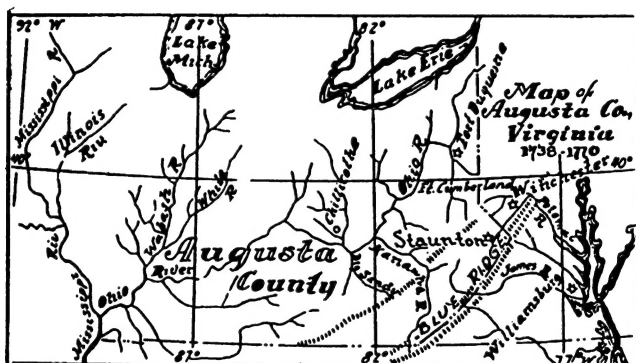


AUGUSTA HISTORICAL BULLETIN



JED HOTCHKISS

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A purpose of the Augusta County Historical Society is to publish *Augusta Historical Bulletin* to be sent without charge to all members. Single issues are available at \$4.00 per copy.

The membership of the society is composed of annual and life members who pay the following dues beginning January 1995:

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Slavery in Antebellum Augusta County and Staunton *

by
Sue Simmons

The local history of African-Americans in Augusta County and the city of Staunton is profoundly misleading. In part because so few blacks now live in the geographic region of Augusta County, residents of the area generally assume that few African-Americans made their home here in the past. This logic leads to the very wrong conclusion that slavery simply did not exist in Augusta County, or that it was insignificant, or that it was very different from elsewhere in Virginia or in the South.

This interpretation has been reinforced by nineteenth century as well as modern day historians. Joseph Waddell, an early Valley historian, wrote "The institution of slavery never had a strong hold upon the people of Augusta. The Scotch-Irish race had no love for it and German people were generally adverse to it."¹ He was joined in his sentiments by his contemporary John Wayland, who commented that the area's small farms and agricultural practices did not lend themselves to slave labor and only a few of the prosperous families owned a few slaves. Modern historians have generally thought that slavery, more suited to and thus more prevalent in the one-crop agriculture found typically in the South, was conversely ill-suited to the diverse grain economy of small family farms such as existed in the Shenandoah Valley.

Unmolested by contested land titles, Scotch-Irish, Germans, and English settlers began to populate the region in the 1730s. Some historians say this area represented the largest assemblage of Scotch-Irish settlers in America; it is important, however, not to disregard the strong German and English cultural influences. The German and English population collectively equaled that of the Scotch-Irish. Each group's American culture was forged in the backcountry and the area quickly acquired characteristics that would set it apart from the rest of Virginia. These accepted cultural proportions ignore the strong African-American presence that was firmly in place in the antebellum period. Indeed, the institution of slavery established itself during the frontier period.

Given the dearth of documentation, it is difficult to ascertain the number of African-Americans living in frontier Augusta County, of which both present-day Rockingham and Rockbridge were a part. No black tithes were reported in 1745 or 1746 yet the first slave, an anonymous runaway belonging to Dr. Hopkins, appears in the court records in 1745 and the first free black, a mulatto child named Christopher Roarrey, is mentioned in 1749. Whether

¹Joseph Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County*, (Harrisonburg, Virginia: C. J. Carrier Co., 1972), p. 414-415.

*Presented at the 1996 Fall Meeting

or not frontier people rejected or embraced slavery is difficult to say. Slaves were bought as additional farm labor, as an investment, and simply for status. It does appear that the decade of the 1760s was a pivotal time after which slavery gained ground and free blacks lost it. Certainly, the pattern of slavery manifested in the antebellum period was firmly established.²

According to the first Federal Census in 1790, the percentage of African-Americans in Augusta County was 14.4 percent black, however, slaves constituted ninety-six percent of the black population. Consequently, although people of color comprised a small proportion of the populace, nearly every black encountered was a slave. While proportion of slaves among the black population decreased somewhat over the next fifty years, the high percentage of slaves among the black population must have significantly shaped the white population's perception of those Negroes who lived among them.

The decades leading up to 1830 were something of a watershed for American Negroes. Augusta County followed somewhat the same pattern evident across the state. The black population grew steadily but not substantially in Augusta County. As the interest in slavery waned due to various causes, the greatest rate of growth was found among free people of color—which showed a truly significant increase after 1820 through 1830. However, the Nat Turner Rebellion of 1831 and other factors led to a negative growth rate after 1832.

The growth of Augusta County's slave population never experienced a decrease. Between 1790 and 1860 Augusta County's black population, both free and enslaved, grew 276 percent while its white population increased by only 132.65 percent. Between 1830 and 1840, both the white and free black population experienced a negative growth rate while the slave population increased by 15 percent.

At various times slaves accounted for between eighteen and twenty percent of Augusta County's total population, a modest figure when compared to the statewide proportion of between thirty to forty percent of the total population. However, slaves consistently made up the vast majority of the African-American population, a demographic far different than that found elsewhere in the Shenandoah Valley.

In 1800 twenty-two percent of Augusta County's taxable households possessed slaves. By 1850 that number had risen dramatically to 30.2 percent. The practice of hiring slaves, however, spread the institution to other segments of the population, making the institution very broadbased. In eastern Virginia, slavery provided the very foundation for the economy; in Augusta County and its incorporated city, Staunton, slavery quite literally subsidized the economy.

Slaveholders were few and slaveholdings were generally small. As a result, large holdings of slaves, such as Joseph Smith of Folly Farm, were atypical in Augusta County. The same can be said of Staunton families. If they owned slaves, they generally owned one or two slaves. Most owned none. Several businessmen owned slaves in partnership; A.J. Garber and William Harmon jointly owned an iron foundry in Staunton as well as ten to fifteen slaves. Abraham Veneble, a tailor, owned one male slave while Maria Steffy, who maintained a school for girls that enjoyed an enrollment of seventeen students, owned seventeen slaves. Even the Reverend Benjamin Mosby Smith, the first minister to occupy the Staunton Presbyterian manse, owned nine slaves. Perhaps even more common were those individuals like the Reverend Francis McFarland, a farmer and Presbyterian minister from the southern

²Augusta County, Virginia, *Order Book*, no. 1 (19 February 1745/46) and Augusta County, Virginia, *Vestry Book*, (16 February 1748).

region of Augusta County, and Jessie Wilson, a Staunton homemaker and wife of a Presbyterian minister. Neither individual owned slaves (although McFarland once had); both, however, hired slaves for their farms and homes. Accordingly, a broadbased system of slavery resulted, one which permeated the entire society and fit neatly into the grain economy of Augusta County and its urban centers.

The practice of "hiring-out" dates to the colonial period when it proved to be both an expedient and profitable means to decrease the number of surplus slaves. As the practice developed over time, it grew to include not only domestics and field hands, but skilled bonds people as well. Industries such as tobacco and hemp factories, and businesses such as railroads, mills, and iron foundries routinely hired slaves. By 1850, five to ten percent of the South's slaves could expect to be hired out.³ It is further estimated that thirty-one percent of urban slaves were "on hire" and, by 1860, the number in many cities exceeded fifty percent. Hiring-out occurred five times more often than slave sales.⁴

The reasons people hired-out slaves were many. The practice was profitable or offered relief from indebtedness. It offered a vehicle to take surplus slaves off one's hands without the unpleasantness of sale. For others, it was simply a source of income.⁵ Hiring out met several needs for both the owner and the lessee. It allowed the nonslaveholding class to take advantage of and profit from slave labor without actually having to invest in slave property. It further diminished any moral stigma attendant to being slaveholder. In hiring out their slaves, owners found a convenient way to deploy unneeded slaves profitably. Indeed, many owners came to rely on lease money as an annual source of income. Hiring-out, thus, "was not a minor or inconsequential feature of slavery."⁶

It is difficult to determine just how many Augusta County or Staunton residents hired the labor of slaves. Hiring agreements and contracts were private rather than public agreements hammered out in parlors, over fences, or at railroad depots. It was not unusual for a slaveowner to hire-out his slave to another and at the same time hire-in a slave belonging to another. Records of a slave's whereabouts or situation were either kept privately or not at all. The enumerator of the slave schedule in the 1860 census made a valiant, if confused effort, to list each hired slave's owner and employer, if one existed. That combined with anecdotal evidence suggests that the practice was extremely widespread and common.

Briscoe Baldwin's letter written from Staunton on 1 January 1839, thus, was not unusual. "I have a very smart, healthy & likely negro fellow to hire as a blacksmith," Baldwin announced, and further recommended his slave to prospective employers because "he learnt with James Trimble" with whom he spent five years and who "speaks well of him." Baldwin promised favorable terms "in consideration of his hiring the benefit of your institution, by which I suppose he would be considerable informed." He urged the prospective employer to hurry to Staunton or to send word immediately "as it is necessary some disposition should be made of him very shortly."⁷

³Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974), p. 390.

⁴Fogel and Engerman, p. 56.

⁵Robert S. Starobin, *Industrial Slavery in the Old South*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 129.

⁶Robert William and Stanley L. Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery*, (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1974), p. 56.

⁷*Byers Family Papers*, 1820-1906, Letter from Briscoe Baldwin, 1 January 1839, (Williamsburg, Va.: The College of William and Mary Swem Library), manuscript.

Briscoe Baldwin's hearsay description of the young slave as a "stout youth, industrious, I am told & of good disposition" and the fact that the young man had already spent five years apprenticed to another leads to the conclusion that Baldwin owned this slave as an investment. It appears slaves owned by townspeople and the more rural county residents were often held solely for the purpose of hiring-out.

Margaret Lyle Brooke wrote regularly to her husband Robert, who, at the time, was a delegate to the Virginia General Assembly. She informed him about family affairs, advised him of products to purchase in Richmond, and sent him news of the town. Margaret wrote to her husband:

Our servants are all hired to the institutions Mary and Ann—we get 40 dollars—for it is the best home for them, I think. I did not consult Ann—I hold Joe at 120 dollars and expect to get it. He remains at the hospital. May can't do without him and must pay for him. John will bring the same and Beverley has not come. I expect him this week Charlotte will be here tomorrow. I never had as little anxiety about hiring the servants and never did better. Doct. Berkeley has all his on his hands and no homes for them yet.⁸

Clearly, Margaret Lyle enjoyed a substantial income from the hiring-out of her slaves. To have the hiring done and at a good price offered her great relief.

Doctor Berkeley, the druggist and physician mentioned in Margaret's letter, had recently moved to Staunton. Deeply in debt, he wrote to his brother Robert asking for financial assistance.

It is alarming when I think of the money I have spent since I came to Staunton—not less than two thousand dollars this year & to meet that I have sunk not less than 6 or 7 thousand dollar—to give you some idea of the caused of this expenditure I will name about three items—House rental \$1750—Fuel not much short of \$1500—[Avante's] three years at College about \$1300—My Income is dependent on three sources—Negro hire at this time about \$300 Practice say \$1000—& the profits for my store cannot be less than \$700 or 800—yet with this I am so far in debt that if called upon to pay it, it would take every cent I have...leaving only my negros now numbering 12...We have determined to curtail every item of expense in our family and if I have my health & I am able to keep up my drug business I ought to be able to make about \$1600 per year in my present practice, negro hire, and drug profits.⁹

Hiring out slaves to agriculture, industry, institutions, or public works was not without its dangers. Owners often felt the need to insure the life of a slave. The Lynchburg Hose and Fire Company advised James McCue, their agent in Augusta County, that

⁸Robert S. Brooke Papers, 1792-1927, Letter from Margaret Lyle Brookes, 28 March 1842 (Charlottesville, Va.: The University of Virginia Library, Manuscripts and Special Collections), manuscript.

⁹Ibid, E. Berkeley Letter to Robert Berkeley, 6 March 1850.

Our Company has in connection with its Fire Insurance department, a Life Insurance branch, in which it is thought something might be done in your county. I therefore send you several blank declarations from which you will see that the Company will take risks both on Whites and Blacks. But no risk will be taken on the life of any slave who employed on any public improvement, or in any extra hazardous business.¹⁰

Hiring bonds made perfunctory mention of maintenance of a slave's health. State law required that should a slave die during hire, an employer was liable to pay for only the time that the slave was alive. An employer was required to seek medical attention for an ill or injured slave hire. More than one lessee undoubtedly weighed financial considerations of medical treatment against letting nature take its course.

Some masters hired out ill or injured slaves simply to be rid of them. Concerned masters, however, found that distance prevented them from knowing whether or not their slaves were adequately fed, clothed, and sheltered, let alone having received medical attention in the event of illness or accident. E.M. Eskridge of Fauquier County, citing financial and humanitarian reasons, stated as much after refusing to return his hired-out slave to a Rockbridge County iron furnace.¹¹ While the hire of a slave offered some attractive income, that income had to be balanced against the financial loss in the event of a slave's disablement or death. In that event, insurance offered only a limited return.

The extent to which the Company will insure the case of slaves is three fourths of their value. The rates of Insurance are as stated in the accompanying tables, except in cases where the slave whose life insured is employed as a carpenter or house joiner, Brick or Stone Mason or in any occupation of a like character, when the rates will be [] one percent in addition to the rates stated in said tables...The company would be please if you would comment to their board some suitable physician who would accept an appointment of Medical Examiner for the Company. The fees which such Examiner will receive, will be in the care of a white person two Dollars and that of a slave fifty cents, to be paid him by the Company.¹²

A slave hired out to a distant place faced potential hardship, but the same circumstance could have some advantages. Those slaves who went to live in large cities such as Richmond or Petersburg often had the opportunity to live independently and within a culturally defined black community. Skilled slaves in this situation sometimes had the chance to earn money independently and many slaves thus bought their way out of bondage. More than one slave used the anonymity of the large urban area to quietly escape the shackles of slavery.

¹⁰McCue Family Papers, 1777-1920, Letter from the Lynchburg Fire and Hose Company to John McCue, 1 July 1852, (Charlottesville, Va: The University of Virginia Library, Manuscripts and Special Collections), manuscript.

¹¹Todd L. Savitt, *Medicine and Slavery*, (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1986), p. 187.

¹²McCue Family Papers, correspondence of William Davenport of the Lynchburg Hose and Fire Insurance Company and to J. H. McCue, 1 July 1852.

How many of Augusta or Staunton's slaves were contracted to work in northern or eastern Virginia's cities is difficult to determine. It appears from extant documents that the local hire of slaves was far more typical. Indeed, some employers imported more hires than they exported; for example, Mistert Shaw and Runkle, who together owned twenty-six slaves, hired four more slaves from Spotsylvania County, seven from Fredericksburg, one each from Nelson and Rockbridge Counties, and seven from Augusta County.¹³ The census of 1850 and 1860 corroborates that a number of slaves in the county were hired from among city or county residents or from the neighboring counties of Rockingham or Rockbridge. Margaret Lyle Brooke mentioned that her slaves were employed in the "institutions," a reference to the Virginia School of the Deaf, Dumb, and Blind and the Western Lunatic Asylum, both located in or just outside of Staunton. Joseph Smith's business papers indicate that the slaves he hired-out stayed within the narrow region of southern Augusta County.¹⁴

Joseph Smith owned approximately thirty to fifty adult slaves between 1851 and 1864. Half of Smith's slaves were hired-out to area farmers and half were kept at home. The list of slaves-for-hire and slaves-at-home did not change. Certain individuals regularly hired the same slaves year after year. These slaves were hired either for credit or for cash. In some cases, it was for a combination of cash and goods; Emeline and later her two children were hired-out to Alexander Anderson for nine consecutive years for \$45.00 cash and \$5.00 in wood. Smith earned a substantial income for his slave hire, from between \$465 in 1851 to as much as \$967 in 1854.¹⁵

Hiring contracts were often made around Christmas for a fifty-one week period beginning on New Year's Day and ending at Christmas when slaves were returned home.¹⁶ In Augusta County, it appears an interested employer shopped and searched for a hireling, often going to the home of the owner to close the deal. Once the terms were agreed upon, the prospective employer signed a lease agreement stating the terms of the hire. This included the annual fee; the provision to the slave of good and substantial clothing, a factory blanket, a wool hat, and the obligation to pay the taxes on the slave.¹⁷

As previously stated, Francis McFarland, a Presbyterian minister, owned no slaves yet relied on slave labor to maintain both his farm and home. McFarland thus hired slaves from Joseph Smith who lived five miles north of his Greenville farm in southern Augusta County. Quite a number of slaves worked for McFarland and frequented his house. Most frequently mentioned is Jefferson, a slave belonging to Joseph Smith of Folly Farm located about ten miles north of Greenville. Prior to his 1860 hire to McFarland, Jefferson had worked for Mr. S.F. Taylor and then for Mr. W.W. Newman. McFarland and Jefferson's association, as recorded in the minister's diary, provides a glimpse into the hiring system as it existed in

Augusta County and the relationship between employers and slaves. "Rode to Mr. Joseph Smiths to pay him for the hire of his servant Jef. for the last year. I paid him \$110.00."¹⁸ In January of 1862 McFarland repeated the transaction. "Went to Joseph Smith & paid him \$110 by check in full for Jeff's hire for last year & \$3.50 for shoes he bought for him. Gave him a new note for this year's hire."¹⁹

McFarland had a close relationship with Jefferson and the other slaves who worked for him, but these relationships were limited by the institution within which they were formed. Francis McFarland's loyalty to and trust in Jefferson, whom he hired in 1859 and each year thereafter for the next eleven years, is quite clear.²⁰ Jeff, as McFarland refers to him, was a constant presence in the McFarland home and field. He traveled with the minister, his sons, and quite often alone on various errands and business. After McFarland's sons joined the Confederate Army and were away from home, Jeff conducted a great deal of business for McFarland in Staunton, primarily seeing to the sale of crops. He frequently was the one sent to Greenville or Staunton for news of the war.

When in November of 1862 Jeff fell ill, McFarland's concern was evident. "Dr. Donaghe came to see Jeff. who is quite sick," McFarland wrote on November 25th. Jefferson was so ill, he returned to Mr. Smiths. "I fear he will die," McFarland confided in his diary. Family members visited Jefferson at the Smiths at different times over the next several months. The Reverend McFarland recorded in December "Went to J. Smith's to see Jeff. Poor fellow, he is very low & I fear he will not recover. I talked to him & prayed with him." Later family members visited Jeff and reported that the slave was paralyzed on one side.

The McFarland house appears to have been a gathering place or even a destination for a number of slaves who frequented or traveled through the area. One slave named Caroline showed up at the McFarland house and while there delivered a baby. McFarland noted six weeks afterwards that "James Hall paid me \$30 for 7 weeks boarding of Caroline & her child & took them away."²¹ Other "servants" or slaves appeared and stayed for varying periods of time, notably Hannah and Lizzie, servants of Mr. Bent and Mr. Merrit, respectively, as well as an unnamed servant of Colonel Derrick.

If slave hire was the most common practice of slavery, then slave sale was the most dreaded. Most sales occurred with the break-up of estates, bankruptcy, or financial distress.²² Infrequently, slaves were sold because they were troublesome, or, though it was illegal, too old to work. Occasionally, slaves were sold to reunite families or sold to freed spouses or relatives.

D.H. Zigler, a Brethren minister, noted that few were immune to the economics of slavery, even those whose ancestors had once eschewed the institution: "The (slave) traffic extended beyond the mountains into the Valley of Virginia, and many of the Germans, who at first opposed slavery, yielded to its seductive influence. In time the traffic became extensive in this section also, and the slave-driver under the laws of the state plied his unmerciful vocation to his heart's content."²³

¹³*United States Census*, Slave Schedule, 1840.

¹⁴*Folly Farm Papers*, 1791-1883, Business papers of Joseph Smith, 1851-1862, slave lists, (Charlottesville, Va.: The University of Virginia Library, Manuscripts and Special Collections), manuscript.

¹⁵*Ibid*, slave lists.

¹⁶Ulrich B. Phillips, *Life and Labor in the Old South*, (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1929), p. 181.

¹⁷*Folly Farm Papers*, business papers of Joseph Smith, 1851-1862.

¹⁸*Francis McFarland Diary*, 1861-1867, (Lexington, Va.: Washington and Lee University Library), manuscript.

¹⁹*Ibid*, 16 January 1862.

²⁰Francis McFarland hired the slave Jeff from Joseph Smith until 1856 and then contracted directly with Jefferson Howard thereafter.

²¹*McFarland Diary*, 1861-1867, (26 March 1863).

²²Fogel and Engerman, p. 55

²³Zigler, p. 75.

The Staunton Spectator ran a weekly advertisement for, " 1,000 Negroes wanted—I wish to purchase one thousand LIKELY NEGROES, of both sexes for the Southern Market, for which I will give the highest cash prices."²⁴ Any prospective seller had only to stop at the Wayne Tavern, located next to the Augusta County Court House to make his deal. Mr. Zigler recalled:

A well-known dealer located in Harrisonburg, Virginia, inserted the following (in the Rockingham Register in 1858) A Few Negroes Wanted.—Whilst some of my Augusta Friends are advertising largely for their hundreds and thousands of Negroes, I beg to state that I shall be satisfied to purchase A FEW valuable negroes, of both sexes, for which I will pay as HIGH PRICES as are paid by my neighbors. While I will be content to get a few Negroes, I wish it to be understood that I have money enough to pay for all that are offered. I am always ready to act upon commission for my friends—Harrisonburg, VA.²⁵

The response to these ads is unknown. More frequent and common were the advertisements for the sale of individual slaves. The sons of Joseph Cowan advertised the sale of "one Negro man, one boy, and a woman...to be sold for cash. Also a horse, 2 milk cows, and 2 yearlings." The trustees of the William Rich property near North Mountain advertised for sale along with his personal property "one Negro girl about 4 years old;" the trustee sale of James Lockridge's property on Little Calf Pasture sold "one Negro girl, Melinda, 22 years." As directed by the will of William Patrick, sixteen slaves, men, women, and children, were sold at the Wayne Tavern located next to the Augusta County Court House.²⁶ Mr. E. May of Mt. Sidney advertised several household items, among them "one Negro woman about forty years old who is an excellent cook, washer, ironer, milker, etc. She is unwilling to go to town and I have enough without her."²⁷

An advertisement for a personal and real estate sale from the estate of John Jones of Augusta County offered "six likely Negroes age two to twenty." Certain stipulations, however, were attached to the purchase of these slaves. "The slaves will be sold until they are thirty-five years of age, but no longer; the purchaser will not be permitted to remove them out of the limits of the state. " To sweeten this rather restricted deal, credit was extended toward the purchase of either the slaves or the other personal property.²⁸

Thomas T. Zackrow wrote from Blacksburg to Dr. P. Gillum in Greenville that, because of sickness and "the condition of the neighborhood," he would not be in Greenville on the 17th of November in time for the sale. He sent instructions, however, that

Sarah will not be there at-that-time You can sell her she is well known & you can give a description of her & if the Legatees will buy in the Negroes I will pay an equal proportion & divide them equally provided they do not sell too

high. I should like to keep Sarah as she is well satisfied and wants to stay but I will have no first claim to her. My advice for the Legatees to buy the Negroes provided they do not sell to high I want you all to act with discretion & judgement in the matter & act as if I were present & I will abide by their decision.²⁹

Slaves were sold to settle debts and to relieve financial distress. In his letter describing his crushing debt and immediate need for money, Dr. Berkeley speculated with reluctant anticipation not only about the sale of his slaves but of some who did not yet belong to him.

In time I could sell negro property, but I really have none to spare, I suppose in all human probability, Mary will have a portion of her Father's Negroes at his death—but I do not know that the [?] left them in such a way as to be disposed of by me at all. Indeed I have sold two of Nina's children already & I dislike to sell any more of them. It is probable that some of the St. Grileon Negroes will have to be sold at the Judges death in order to keep families together & it would be much less painful to sell in that way than to separate those that I now have from each other.³⁰

Jonas Graybill, who lived on the road from Winchester, Virginia, to Knoxville, Tennessee, recalled that in the fall of the year numbers of slaves were driven south through the Valley. An elder in the Brethren Church and an opponent of slavery, Graybill reported that "the men were handcuffed on the sides of a chain forty or fifty feet long. Each one was given room enough to walk and to lie down at night to sleep. Frequently, they had to leave their wives and children and go south never to hear from them again."³¹

Itinerant artist Lewis Miller's sketch put a human face on Graybill's recollection. This drawing of slaves being herded along the Great Wagon Road from Staunton to Tennessee by white slave drivers is accompanied by a description that conveys the finality of the trip. "Arise! Arise! and weep no more dry up your tears, we shall part no more. Come rise we go to Tennessee, that happy shore, to old Virginia never—never—return," are written above a watercolor sketch of nineteen slaves being driven from Staunton. Two white men on horseback, each of whom are carrying long sticks, march sixteen adults and three children, some of whom are carrying small bundles over their shoulders, to an unknown destination and an uncertain future. Miller wrote at the bottom of the sketch, "The company going to Tennessee from Staunton, Augusta County, the law of Virginia suffered them to go on. I was Astonished at this boldness, the carrier Stopped a moment, then Ordered the march. I Saw the play it is commonly in this State, with the negro in droves Sold."³²

²⁴Ibid, p. 77.

²⁵Zigler, p. 76.

²⁶*Staunton Spectator*, 1 September 1836, vol. 13, no. 40; 20 October 1836, vol. 13, no. 47; 10 November 1836, vol. 13, no. 51; 1 December 1836, vol. 14, no. 52, (Staunton, Virginia: Fannie Bayley King Library).

²⁷*Ibid.*, October 13, 1835, no. 46.

²⁸*Staunton Spectator*, 13 October 1836, no. 46, and 6 October 1836, no. 44.

²⁹*Pilson Family Papers*, 1825-1869, letter from Thomas T. Zackrow to Dr. P. Gillum, (Richmond, Virginia Historical Society), manuscript.

³⁰*Robert S. Brooke Papers*, E. Berkeley Letter to Robert Berkeley, 6 March 1850.

³¹Zigler, p. 77.

³²Lewis Miller, "Slave Trader, Sold to Tennessee," *Sketchbook of Landscapes in the State of Virginia, 1853*, (Williamsburg, Virginia: Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Center), manuscript notebook.

It is impossible to imagine how slaves must have felt when either they or one of their own faced the auction block. Much of the available information about slaves and their responses, in particular their reaction to being sold, comes from the recorded observations of unsympathetic whites. The oral history project of the WPA conducted in the early 1930's, however, offers an extensive collection of former slaves' autobiographical narratives.

Mary E. Wsey[sic], who lived in Staunton as a slave, recalled an aunt who was left feeble-minded by a fever and sometimes wandered off. "They sold her. They knew at big house traders was coming [and] kept it from her. When they broke the news to her she said she just as soon belong to one white man as another. Tole all us good-bye like she was going on a visit. We never saw her no more."³³

Mrs. Melinda Ann ("Roty") Ruffin, born in Augusta County, near Waynesboro in 1835, remembered being put on the "sellin" block and sold as a nurse. Ballard Smith, a resident of Greenville, "put her on the block" but Roty recalled that, after she was sold, she "walked down as big as gall. That's why I ain't no Democrat."

Not all slaves took the news of their sales quite so calmly. The day after a Captain Roberts bought Julia, who belonged to Francis McFarland's son-in-law and who lived at the McFarland's home, the enraged woman chased Mrs. McFarland and Mary Lou, a slave, into McFarland's room. McFarland recounted the incident in his diary.

I seized the poker & ran out & Rhoda & Liz were holding Julia & trying to get the axe from her which she was holding up over her head & trying to get at us. Rhoda cried to me to get out of the way, which I did & locked the door believing I could not contend with her & the axe. They got the axe from her & took her to the kitchen. I sent for Mr. McPheeters & he & Capt. Roberts came & tied her & sent her in the Wagon to Staunton and Mr. McPheeter had her put in jail...I feel much indebted to the other servants whose fidelity had been instrumental in saving our lives.³⁴

The handling of slaves perplexed all to whom the responsibility fell. In Augusta County and the Upper Valley where slaves were fewer and where they lived and worked in closer proximity to their white families, their discipline was perhaps more problematic, especially for women.

Jessie Wilson, wife of the Reverend Joseph R. Wilson, did not share this view. She hinted at her concern in a letter she wrote to her father, Thomas Woodrow, who had recently moved to Kentucky. Mrs. Wilson inquired, "How do you think you will like things in a slave state? My experience has taught me that there are some disadvantages—The responsibility incurred by the housekeeper is so much more than in a free state."³⁵ Mrs. Wilson did not own slaves but mentioned that three "servants—two women and a man" lived in the house with her. It is not clear if the Wilsons hired the slaves or if the church provided for their hire. It is clear that Mrs. Wilson felt a certain pressure as she managed those slaves in the course of her daily routine.

³³Charles L. Perdue, Jr. Thomas E. Barden, and Robert K. Phillips, editors, *Weevils in the Wheat: Interviews with Virginia Ex-Slaves*, (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976), p. 243 and p. 346.

³⁴*Francis McFarland Diary*, 20 December 1864.

³⁵*Jessie Wilson Letter*, Jesse Woodrow Wilson to Thomas Woodrow, 27 April 1857, (Staunton, Va.: The Woodrow Wilson Birthplace and Museum), facsimile. The letter was written by Mrs. Wilson from the Presbyterian Manse in Staunton following the birth of her son Thomas Woodrow Wilson.

Margaret Lyle Brooks, another housekeeper, shared Mrs. Wilson's concern.

I think that my new servant will be a comfort to me I live in more ease than I have done for two years but a new broom sweeps clean and I may be disappointed. I will not be extravagant in her praise yet. It makes my family so much smaller that alone reconciles me to the change. I shall not have half the sewing to do and my new servant will sleep in the house and is never out of place. I shall not have to use any compulsion which is most disagreeable to me. There is not a family in Staunton that would not be happy to get rid of their slave if they could. Thy are a source of great trouble. The responsibility of a mistress is overwhelming. I would not tell you all that I have suffered on that subject. I have not done my duty many times for I have spared the rod and correction is absolutely necessary to their comfort. Enough on that subject.³⁶

Joseph Smith recorded "Negro presents" of money "paid" to eighteen of his slaves. It is impossible to ascertain if these monetary presentments were Christmas or harvest time gifts such as Henry Jones suggested. Twelve of the eighteen received \$1.00; two received fifty cents; and four received twenty-five cents. Three of the slaves noted as hired-out, each received a different amount. Humphrey and Jefferson were the only two of the four men on the list to receive a dollar, Henry and Sam received fifty and twenty five cents respectively.

Augusta County's slaveholders and slave-employers played out their roles in a slave society of their own creation. Through the system of hiring, slavery had become very broadbased and unique to the region. It fit neatly into the grain economy of the county; slaveholders profited from slaveownership just as their nonslaveholding neighbors benefited from readily available slave labor. Slaves thus brought status and profit to their owners and propelled Staunton and Augusta's yeomen into the middle class, a position both groups would ultimately be compelled to defend when the larger issue became that of secession.³⁷

³⁶*Robert S. Brooke Papers*, Margaret Lyle Brooke Letter to Robert Brooke, 12 March 1842.

³⁷Oakes, pp. 120 and 129.

Dangerfield Hunter: An Augusta County Slave and His Estate

Katharine L. Brown

In late November of 1856, a seventy-five year old slave died in western Augusta County, and was probably buried at the farm of his master, Louis Pauly. His passing scarcely made news, and was not noted in newspapers or official records. His death, like his life, and that of most of his contemporaries in bonds, went unremarked.

One thing distinguished this man, Dangerfield Hunter, from most of his contemporaries. Prior to his death, he made a will which survived in papers of the family that owned him. That document offers a glimpse of the material circumstances in which this elderly servant lived, and into the network of relationships that surrounded him and made up the fabric of his life.

Dangerfield Hunter's will is transcribed here from the typed copy in the collections of the Virginia Historical Society.¹ This article examines that document from several viewpoints, in an effort to understand more of the lifestyle of a slave on a western Virginia farm in the late antebellum period. The material aspect involves an examination of his possessions to determine how his cabin was furnished and what utensils and clothing he owned. The personal aspect looks at persons named as legatees in the document. This offers a perspective on his relationships with the family that owned him, and on the network of friends and relatives this man had in the community around the village of Deerfield.

Dangerfield's Will June 18, 1856

In the name of God amen. I Dangerfield Hunter Being in a low state of health, but of perfect mind and memory, thanks be given unto God for the same, and knowing that it is appointed for all men once to die, do make and ordain this my last will and testament, and first I give unto my Nephew, Farrow, my bedsted and bedding, and a pair of gray legings. 2 split bottom chairs I give to Cyrus Bannester. 1 split bottom chair I give to Maria Robinson. My new shoes I give to Tomas Trup. My Black Sal Hen and her 4 chickens I give to Addy Robinson. My little Corner Cubbord I give to Arenah and Esteline Pauly. My square basket and square Walnut table I give to Hariet Pauly. My big Pot, Pot Rack and Pot Hooks I give to Anderson Linsey. My Saddle Blanket and my Molasses Keg I give to Albert Galitan Pauly. My Hodge hen I give to Isabella Pauly. Anderson L owes me 75 Cts which is to be added to the price of one old turkey

and whatever young ones may be after John gets his third and used to pay a debt in Glinders store of about \$1.50. One fine shirt and a black Cravat I give to my Nephew Anderson Sprouse. One fine shirt and all my other wearing clothes which has not already been disposed of I give to Abraham Ratfoot, and request him to distribute some of them among his Brothers and his children as may suit best. One fine shirt and stock for the neck I give to L.P. 2 Cocks, 1 coffee pot, 1 quart pot, 1 large tin, 1 glass tumbler, 2 pair mittens, 2 boxes and all that you find in them I give to Abraham Ratfoot to do with as above, and I give my 3 knives and 3 forks to Abraham Ratfoot as his own property. 1 coffee mill, 2 plates and 1 tin I give to Maria Robinson. My vinegar barrel and 1 bag I give to L. Pauly. My Hatchet I give to Albert Galitan until Charles comes and then Charles gets it. My iron fire shovel I give to Anderson Ratfoot. My old frying pan I give to A. Galitan. My black Walking stick I give to Guy's Sam.

Because the document is a typescript and not the original, and because the typescript does not indicate if the original was signed, it is not possible to know whether this is a holographic will, written and signed by Dangerfield Hunter himself. Such a document would indicate a high level of literacy on the part of the elderly slave. This could also have been a noncupative will, the deathbed wishes made known orally to witnesses and written down. The will was dated in July, five months before the old man died. It is likely that he dictated his wishes to a member of his owner's family, who recorded them and reviewed them with the old retainer.

The information about Dangerfield Hunter's possessions suggests that he had his own small cabin on the Pauly farm. His furniture and furnishings consisted of a bedstead and bedding, three split bottom chairs, a square walnut table, a small corner cupboard, and a vinegar barrel. This was just enough furniture to create a comfortable living space and place to entertain a few visitors.

Dangerfield Hunter's cooking equipment consisted of a large pot, a quart pot, a pot rack, pot hooks, a frying pan, and a coffee pot. His equipment for preparing and storing food included two crocks, two tins, a square basket, a vinegar barrel and a molasses keg. For eating the simple meals prepared at an open hearth, he had two plates, a glass tumbler, three knives and three forks. His hatchet for splitting wood, and his iron fire shovel were adequate to prepare and tend a fire for warmth and for cooking.

"Uncle Field," as he was known in the Pauly family, had a fairly extensive wardrobe. From this, he singled out several items, presumably those of greatest value, to be given to friends and relatives. These included his new shoes, gray leggings, and a "fine shirt and black Cravat" for a nephew, Anderson Sprouse. In what seems an unusual gift for one so poor, this elderly slave left another "fine shirt and stock for the neck" to L. P., who was most likely Lewis William Pauly, the eldest son of Dangerfield's master. The remainder of his clothing was to go to Abraham Ratfoot, who would share them with his brothers and children.

The old man kept poultry, which he distributed as part of his personal estate. He had two hens, one with four chicks at the time the will was written, and an old turkey who might produce chicks. In that eventuality they would be used to retire a small debt with a local merchant.

The will gives evidence that Dangerfield Hunter carried on a variety of financial transactions in the neighborhood, and that he kept good account of them in his head. He had an account at a business identified in the will as Glinders store. No evidence of a Glinders family or business could be found, but it is possible that the name of the store was Glendy's, not Glinders. Robert J. Glendy acquired several tracts along the Calf Pasture River in

¹Dangerfield Hunter (1781?-1856) Will. typescript. Virginia Historical Society. Mss2H9167a1. The author acknowledges with gratitude the permission of the Virginia Historical Society to print this document.

Deerfield in the 1840s and 1850s, and also purchased items at estate sales in the area. He could also have operated a store in the community.²

It was a fairly common practice in the Shenandoah Valley, as records from several general stores indicate, for slaves to have accounts at stores. Coffee was a commodity that slaves sometimes purchased; Dangerfield Hunter's coffeepot indicates that he enjoyed his java. Sometimes a bondsman retired his debt through labor for the store owner.³ Hunter's debt at the store was "about \$1.50", which could be considered twenty-four dollars in 1991 values.⁴ While Uncle Field was a debtor at the local store, he was a creditor in his personal network. He filled the role of banker for friends and relatives, who touched him up occasionally for a small loan. Anderson Linsey, to whom he left his principal cooking equipment, owed him seventy-five cents. Dangerfield Hunter arranged for the payment of his own debt with Glinders' (or Glendy's) store by having Linsey's debt to him paid directly to the store, along with Field's old turkey and chicks, which, when sold at the store, would clear that account.

Uncle Field does not seem to have had a wife and children of his own, but he had relatives in the local community. One was a nephew named Farrow, to whom he left his most valuable furniture, the bedstead and the bedding, as well as a pair of grey leggings. It is not clear whether Farrow was the given name or surname of this nephew. He is one of the few persons mentioned in this will without a full name. The other nephew mentioned was Anderson Sprouse. One of the farms in the Deerfield neighborhood was that of William Sprouse. It has not yet been possible to determine if Anderson Sprouse and Farrow were brothers, or whether they were first cousins, sons of two different siblings of Dangerfield Hunter.

Several persons named as heirs in Dangerfield Hunter's will, but not listed as relatives, appear to have been his friends in the African-American community in West Augusta. These included Cyrus Bannester, Maria and Addy Robinson, Abraham and Anderson Ratfoot, Anderson Linsey, and Guy's Sam. There was a free black man in Augusta County named David Bannister. It is possible that Cyrus Bannester was related to him.

One of the most prominent farmers in West Augusta was William Guy, a native of Ireland, who was 59 in 1856. His large landholdings in 1860 included 300 acres of improved land and 2,000 acres of unimproved land, at a value of \$20,000, as well as personal

²For transactions in which Robert J. Glendy acquired land in the 1840s and 1850s, see Augusta County Deed books: 62: 471; 64:241; 70:108, 251; 72:468; 74:569; 75:73.

³For examples of slave transactions at stores, see Charles B. Dew, *Bond of Iron: Master and Slave at Buffalo Forge* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1994). J. Susanne Simmons, in researching the African-Americans in Augusta County for the Museum of American Frontier Culture, found similar examples of transactions by slaves at stores.

⁴John J. McCusker, *How Much is That in Real Money?: A Historical Price Index for Use as a Deflator of Money Values in the Economy of the United States* (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1992, reprinted from the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, Vol. 101, Part 2, October 1991), 312, 328-332.

⁵A modern value for William Guy's holdings would be some \$320,000 for his real estate and \$127,700 for his personal property. Ibid. A detailed breakdown on the productivity of the Guy farm can be found in the 1860 Agricultural Census of Augusta County, District #1, pages 33-34, Augusta County Courthouse, Staunton. His family information is in the Augusta County Census, First District, 1736/1686.

property worth \$8,000.⁵ Dangerfield Hunter's friend Sam, who was to receive his black walking stick, belonged to William Guy, and most likely lived on that farm near the Pauley's. In the 1860 census, William Guy owned seven slaves, males aged 37, 35, 17, 5, and 3, and females ages 25 and 10. Four years later, William Guy died. In the appraisal of his estate, the slaves are listed as man Jake, \$1200; man Sam, \$1800; man Tom, \$2,000; Woman & child, \$1,800; boy Charlie, \$1,500; boy Howard, \$1,200; girl Venice, \$800 and girl Sallie, \$1,800.⁶ Sam was probably the man aged 35 in the 1860 census, and would have been 31 at the time he inherited Uncle Field's black walking stick. William Guy's boy named Charlie would not be the Charles who was to get the hatchet. If he was the five year old male in the 1860 census, then he was only a year old child when Dangerfield Hunter died in 1856.

A detailed search of wills and estate inventories and of estate sale lists for Augusta County prior to 1865 may make it possible to locate more of the individuals named in Dangerfield Hunter's will. Hunter himself showed up in the appraisal of his previous owner, Lewis (Louis) Abraham Pauly, father of Lewis Pauley who was his owner at the time Dangerfield died. On June 27, 1828, William Clayton, administrator, appraised the personal estate of L. A. Pauly for the sale held that day. In the estate of Louis Abraham Pauly, there were nine slaves, three men, three women, and three children. Dangerfield, oldest of the nine, at 46 years, was valued at \$320. Billy, age 44 was valued at \$330; Shedrack, age 24 worth \$375; Addalade, age 42, valued at \$180; Matilda, age 20, worth \$300; Susan, age 18, worth \$250; Anne, 12 at \$200; Manah, age 7 worth \$175; and Peggy at 5 years was worth \$145.⁷

It is impossible to be sure of relationships among these nine African-American persons without family papers to verify surmises. Addalade, at 42 could have been the wife of either Dangerfield or Billy, but more likely the latter. Or, she could have had a husband on another farm. Addalade may have been the mother of some of the younger slaves. Dangerfield's will mentioned nephews rather than a wife or children. Matilda, 20 and Shedrack, 24, may have been a couple. The youngest slave on the farm, Peggy, age five, could have been their child, or Addalade's. Manah, age 7, Ann age 12, and Susan, age 18 could all have been Addalade's children. It is interesting to note that not one of these names from the 1828 estate of his master appears in Dangerfield Hunter's will written twenty-eight years later in 1856. In the 1860 census, Lewis Pauly, who had owned Dangerfield, only owned one slave. Had the remainder of the Pauly family slaves been divided among Lewis Abraham Pauly's children, the siblings of Lewis Pauly? Or had they been sold? Had some of them died? Had any run away? Had any been manumitted and left the state, or been sent to Liberia? These questions bear investigation.

It was to members of the Pauly family which owned him that the elderly slave, "Uncle Field," left the remainder of his own earthly goods. Arenah and Esteline Pauly were to get the "little Corner Cubbord." Harriet Pauly would get the square walnut table and the square basket. Isabella Pauly was to have one of the two hens. The younger Lewis Pauly was to inherit a shirt and stock, a vinegar barrel and a bag. Albert Galitan Pauly was to receive a saddle blanket, molasses keg, frying pan, and the use of a hatchet until Charles came to claim it.

⁶Appraisement of the personal property of William Guy, decd., made by us in this 5th Apl 1864...James A. Guy, Thos. A. Clayton, A.K. Clayton. Augusta Will Book 43, 238-9.

⁷Appraisal of Personal Estate of L.A. Pauly, deceased, 27 June 1828, William Clayton, administrator. Augusta County Will Book 16, 469-471.

These were the children of Lewis Pauly, Dangerfield's owner, by his first wife, Elizabeth Hodge, whom he married in 1824. She was born in Augusta County in 1807, the daughter of William Hodge and Martha Benson, and died in 1850/51.⁸ In 1856, the ages of these young people were Lewis William 26, Harriet 25, Charles c. 21, Arenan 17, Esteline 15, Isabella 12, and Albert 16. Lewis Pauly had remarried, to a relative of his first wife, and they had two young children at the time Dangerfield Hunter made his will. Several more were born later. The younger Pauly children, were not mentioned in the will.

The family which owned Dangerfield Hunter was interesting, and unusual enough to remind us that everyone in Augusta County did not fit the typical pattern of origins in the Scotch-Irish, German, English, or African-American ethnic groups. Spelled variously as "Pauly," "Pauley," and "Pauli," the name is probably Swiss in origin. The family, however, had a strong French identity.

Louis Abraham Pauly, born and educated in France, emigrated from there to Virginia in the 1780s. Perhaps he came to this country on the heels of the American Revolution, fired with idealism for the new republic, and proud of the role that Frenchmen such as the Marquis de Lafayette and the Comte de Grasse had played in helping Americans gain independence.

Louis Abraham Pauly was married in France, and may have emigrated with his wife, whose name is not known, and a son or nephew named Joseph. Pauly's name appears in records of the French Consul at Norfolk as early as 1787. In a letter of 28 December 1793, the French consul wrote to "Citoyen Pauly Deputé de la Nation à Paulysburg en Virginia" ("Citizen Pauly, Deputy of the Nation at Paulysburg in Virginia). Another letter from the same period referred to Pauly as "negoceant Deputé de la Nation française, resident à Diascumbridge, county de New Kent in the state of Virginia agissant en l'absence of Citoyen Martin Oster Vice Consul" (commercial or mercantile representative of the French nation living at Diascumbridge, New Kent County in the state of Virginia, acting in the absence of Citizen Martin Oster, Vice Consul).⁹ The "Citizen" title was French Revolutionary terminology. Pauly evidently had some standing in the Franco-American community, and with the revolutionary government in power in France in 1793.

If Pauly brought a wife with him from France, her name is not known, nor her death date. He later married an American woman, Jane B. (surname unknown) who apparently predeceased him. Pauly acquired land in New Kent County at Diascum Bridge on Diascum Creek, beside the road to Richmond, and adjacent to the plantation of Edward Jones. He settled there for a decade. Insurance records show that he had a story and a half frame dwelling 36 feet by 16 feet, with dormer windows, and with a story and a half frame wing 37 by 16 feet that doubled the size of the house to a very substantial residence.¹⁰

Louis Abraham Pauly's children were born there in New Kent County. Ambrosia was born about 1793 or 1794. In Augusta County in 1824, she married Alexander LaPorte, two years her junior, who was born in France. Christianna was born about 1797 or 1798 and married Cornelius Ruddle in Augusta County in 1817. The third child was Louis Pauly,

⁸Pauly family information kindness of Katherine G. Bushman.

⁹This reference was called to the author's attention by Katherine G. Bushman, courtesy of Peggy Joyner. Papers of the French Consul in Norfolk, Burton Collection, University of Chicago, microfilm reel #2.

¹⁰Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia records, Reel #2, Vol. 14, #492. Virginia Division of Historic Resources.

junior, born about 1802, who inherited or acquired Dangerfield Hunter from his father's estate in 1829.¹¹

When Louis Abraham Pauly emigrated to Virginia, he may have been accompanied or soon joined by his sister, Sophia Allegre Pauly. In Richmond, Sophia Allegre was swept off her feet by an attractive young Swiss immigrant by the name of Albert Gallatin. Their marriage, apparently an elopement, took place in Richmond on 14 May 1789. Gallatin (1761-1849), born in Geneva, and orphaned early, was given a superb education by his patrician relatives. He emigrated to the young American nation in 1780, tutored French at Harvard, then came to Virginia.

With a partner, Gallatin purchased 120,000 acres of Ohio River Valley land in western Virginia and Pennsylvania in 1783. In 1785, he took the oath of allegiance to Virginia and became an American citizen. In 1786, he acquired the 400 acre farm in Fayette County, on the Pennsylvania frontier, where he began his home, "Friendship Hill," in 1789. When the couple married, Gallatin was just on the verge of his political career that took him to Congress, the state constitutional convention, his part in the formation of the Jeffersonian Republican party, his work in minimizing the dangers of the Whiskey Rebellion, and especially to his valuable service to the nation as Secretary of the Treasury in the administrations of Presidents Jefferson and Madison. Sophia Allegre Pauly Gallatin did not live to share and enjoy her husband's rising political star, for she died five months after the wedding. Gallatin re-married four years later.¹²

Gallatin kept touch with his Pauly in-laws, and they held him in high regard. Lewis Pauly, Gallatin's nephew by marriage, named one of his sons for the famous in-law. This was "Albert Gallatin" to whom Dangerfield Hunter left his old frying pan, and whom he entrusted to care for his hatchet "until Charles comes for it." Albert Gallatin Pauly enlisted as a private in Captain A. J. Thompson's company of the 52nd Virginia Regiment in the Civil War. He was at Camp Stribling Springs, not far from his home. His death in the army occurred in January, 1863.¹³

Louis Abraham Pauly, the immigrant and patriarch, was a person of education, culture, and some means. The household he established in the beautiful Deerfield Valley along the Calfpasture River was one of the finest in that area. The appraisal of his personal property at the time of his death in 1828 shows not only standard farming equipment and household goods, including several spinning wheels and a loom, an apothecary still, a ten plate stove and a wagon, but also a number of luxury goods. Furnishings included a settee, walnut cupboard, clothespress, 17 Windsor chairs, a large drop leaf table, two other tables and a candlestand, an arm chair, a four post tester bed complete with curtains, several other beds, three looking glasses, a spinnet, three fiddles, French books and maps, a large Bible, French-English dictionaries, and assorted silver and glassware. Pauly had capital to lend, for several persons owed money to the estate in amounts from \$103 to \$440.

By far the greatest assets of Pauly's estate were his nine slaves, at a total appraised value of \$2,265. Dangerfield Hunter headed the list at \$320. Historic prices tend to minimize values when compared with current inflated prices. They make best sense in context

¹¹Pauly family genealogical information kindness of Katherine G. Bushman.

¹²"Friendship Hill: Official Map and Guide," National Park Service.; Henrico County Marriage Records.

¹³Anne C. Kidd, "Obituaries," *Augusta Historical Bulletin*, Vol. 22, No. 2, Fall, 1986, 21.

with other prices from their time. The horses were valued at \$40, the tester bed and curtains at \$25, the wagon at \$30 and the spinnet at \$25. The labor of Dangerfield Hunter and the six other slaves old enough to work had helped to make that comfortable lifestyle possible for the Pauly family.

A subject often overlooked is the lifestyles of those slaves and occasional free blacks who made up the many local African-American communities in Augusta County. Sources for their lives are far more difficult to squeeze from the record than the wills, deeds, inventories, and sale accounts that tell so much about their masters. The will of Dangerfield Hunter is an unusual source that offers just such an opportunity.

This article has been intended as an introduction to the possibilities that this one source offers to social historians. It suggests further avenues of exploration that could make possible the reconstruction of the African-American community in West Augusta in the quarter century before freedom came. For that, we owe a debt of gratitude to Dangerfield Hunter.

Augusta County's Pioneer Newspaper Woman: Anne Newport Royall

By
Martha Robinson

Anne Newport Royall is today a rather obscure figure in American history. During her lifetime, however, she was widely known, and widely criticized and disliked for her position on controversial issues. Physical and verbal abuse were a part of her life, but even in the face of extreme adversity, Anne Royall continued to fight, to write, and to speak for those things in which she believed.

Anne Newport was born on June 11, 1769, in Baltimore, Maryland. She was the elder of two daughters of William and Mary Newport. The Newport family lived for a while in Maryland, then moved to Middle River, Virginia, in 1772 where Mrs. Royall had relatives. From Virginia, the Newports immigrated with other Virginia families to the frontier country of Pennsylvania and settled in Westmoreland County near a bluff called Mount Pisgah which overlooked the forks of three rivers. According to her biographer, "The cabin the Newports moved into had been built by an earlier pioneer. The goods they brought filled the eight-by-ten room: a bedstead, four wooden stools, with legs stuck in them through augur holes, half a dozen tin cups, and the like number of pewter plates, knives, forks, and spoons, a tray and frying pan, a campkettle and a pot. They soon acquired a puncheon table, "a tree split in half, graced with four substantial legs of rough hewed white oak." Skins were thrown on the floor to accommodate travelers passing the night. The pewterware and bedstead, relics of their Baltimore days, gave the Newports a reputation of having the best outfitted cabin on the Loyalhanna, but the distinction was short-lived. Lacking toys, baby Mary played with the tableware. She broke some and lost the rest and the family was reduced to eating from musselshells like other frontier folk."¹

Because of the ever present threat of Indian attacks, the Newport family moved several times within the area in which they had settled. At one time they located near John Shield's Fort where a small number of troops were stationed. It was while living there on the Moore's farm that Anne's father taught her the alphabet using the Bible as a textbook. Consequently, when Anne entered a school that had been opened near the Moore's farm, she was ready to begin reading in the New England primer.²

William Newport eventually disappeared, or died, and Mary Newport had to find work to support her family. She and her daughters were befriended by the Denniston family who were both prosperous and compassionate people. Mrs. Newport was able to leave her daughters with the Dennistons when she had to travel long distances in pursuit of work. Anne

¹Bessie Rowland James, Anne Royall's U.S.A. (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1972), 11-12.

²Bessie Rowland James, Anne Royall's U.S.A. (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1972) 15-16.

and Jane, or Jinsey Denniston, became close friends. Anne's friendship with Jinsey broadened Anne's horizons. They spent many hours playing in the fields around the farm, and because Jinsey's brother traveled a great deal on trading trips, he would return home with treasures which delighted Anne, who had been used to little finery. On one occasion Anne was thrilled when John Denniston arrived home with cubes of sugar, but dismayed when the children were not allowed to eat them.³

After the disappearance of Anne's father, Mary Newport remarried a Mr. Butler whose first name may have been Patrick. The Butlers had one son, James. During the 1780's the family moved to Hanna's Town where it is believed Mr. Butler was killed in an Indian attack. Widowed for the second time, Mary Butler decided that the family could endure no more of the frontier life. She moved with Anne, now a teenager, and young James back to Virginia where she had relatives. Anne's sister Mary stayed in Pennsylvania with friends. Upon their return to Virginia, the family stayed for a while in Staunton where Mrs. Butler found work and shelter with the Anderson family. It was in Staunton that Anne met and became a close friend to Anne Montgomery Lewis. Anne grew to resent being treated as an indentured servant while living in the Valley, and felt humiliated when made to sit with the servants at the Presbyterian Stone Church. No one reached out a friendly hand to make Anne feel that Christians considered her one of them. Weekly exposure to long sermons, and being made to feel inferior prompted Anne later in life to make Protestantism one of the targets of her most stinging criticisms.⁴

Mary Royall and Anne, who was eighteen years old at the time, moved about eighty miles from the Staunton area to Sweet Springs where their good friends the Lewises had also relocated. James would join them later. Mary found a job as a maid and a wash woman for Major William Royall (promoted from captain to major after the war). Royall, a scholar, gentleman, farmer, veteran, and ardent Mason, was a wealthy and prominent man, who had played a key role in the American Revolution. Major Royall developed a keen interest in teaching Anne, and she proved an eager student. In his teaching, he placed great emphasis on literature and the history of the country. Anne was fascinated by stories of his childhood and youth, and his account of his experiences during the American Revolution. He shared with her his political and religious views and his deep devotion to the cause of Freemasonry. When Anne's brother James joined the family, the major saw to it that he too had the opportunity to be educated.⁵

The relationship that existed between Anne and Major Royall led to their marriage on November 18, 1797, in Botetourt County.⁶ Anne was twenty-eight years old at the time, and William Royall was in his mid-fifties. Anne was a devoted wife and easily accepted her husband's beliefs as her own. He had fought and been a commanding officer in the Revolutionary War and possessed a deep sense of patriotism which Anne quickly learned to respect. He was a staunch supporter and member of Freemasonry and, again, Anne adopted its principles as her own.

³Bessie Rowland James, Anne Royall's U.S.A. (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1972), 17.

⁴Bessie Rowland James, Anne Royall's U.S.A. (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1972), 24.

⁵Bessie Rowland James, Anne Royall's U.S.A. (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1972), 36.

⁶Sarah Harvey Porter, The Life and Times of Anne Royall (New York: Arno Press, 1972), 36.

The Royalls relationship was a strong one, though some were critical of it. Years later when William Royall's will was contested by family members, John Lewis, who had been a neighbor of Royall testified in court: "Major William Royall...lived with her [Anne] some years or kept her as a concubine."⁷ Although during the later years of the marriage William Royall consumed large amounts of alcohol, Anne remained devoted to her husband until his death on December 12, 1812.⁸

During their marriage William Royall had been an unselfish husband. According to Sarah Harvey Porter, "He was both wealthy and generous. Half a dozen times a year (on her birthday and at other festival times) he made over, legally, to his wife valuable gifts of property in land, houses, and slaves. It was in Anne's nature, too, to give, and during the sixteen years of her married life she experienced the joy - to her the greatest joy that could be vouchsafed - of scattering her bounty broadcast among the sick, the needy, and the sinful."⁹ Upon the death of William Royall, his will was recorded in 1813 leaving the majority of his estate to Anne. Anne was also appointed one of two executors. The other was John Archer who was the son of William Royall's half-brother. Very soon after William Royall's death, the will was contested by members of the Royall family. Rumors circulated that the Royalls had never been legally married and that the will was either a forgery or had been obtained when Major Royall had become senile. Documents exist which prove that the marriage did take place.¹⁰

After William Royall's death, Anne grew restless and began to travel around the South visiting friends and relatives. During this time she wrote about the places and people she visited. Her disillusionment with slavery, and the importance of education. Her already deep sense of patriotism grew.

In 1823 the suit to break William Royall's will was decided against Anne. She was fifty-four years old at the time. She was left virtually penniless. She immediately decided to go to Washington to apply for a pension as the widow of an officer of the American Revolution. She also decided that she would write a book to include all the things that happened to her on her journey from Alabama to Washington, D.C. "The notes thus taken form the nucleus of her first book, *Sketches of History, Life and Manners in the United States*.

The book makes but slight reference to the hardships which gave it birth. During this first journey north, Mrs. Royall was frequently indebted to strangers for her stage fare. She ate scraps thrown out from tavern kitchens. She slept where she could. Her clothes were almost past mending."¹¹ Sometimes she was fortunate enough to find Masons who welcomed her into their homes. One such Mason was M.E. Clagget who lived in Alexandria. It was in his home that Anne's first book was prepared for press.

⁷Bessie Rowland James, Anne Royall's U.S.A. (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1972), 36.

⁸Bessie Rowland James, Anne Royall's U.S.A. (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1972), 54-55.

⁹Sarah Harvey Porter, The Life and Times of Anne Royall (New York: Arno Press, 1972), 37.

¹⁰Sarah Harvey Porter, The Life and Times of Anne Royall (New York: Arno Press, 1972), 44.

¹¹Sarah Harvey Porter, The Life and Times of Anne Royall (New York: Arno Press, 1972), 60.

For many years Mrs. Royall met with government officials in an attempt to receive a pension after her husband's death. One of her most ardent supporters for years was John Quincy Adams who was Secretary of State under President Monroe when Anne began her campaign. Though she worked long and hard for the pension, she received no satisfaction until she was eighty years old. When the pension was finally available, she opted to receive it in one lump sum which meant that other legal heirs could also have their share. When all was said and done, Anne received little if anything.

After a scandal arose which blackened the reputation of Freemasonry, Anne Royall set out through her writing to clear its name. The scandal arose when Freemasons were accused of killing William Morgan after he divulged Masonic secrets. Morgan, who was a Mason, had fallen from grace with the order and when he tried to join another order, he was blackballed. He became very angry and retaliated by telling Masonic secrets. He was believed to have been murdered by Masons. People were outraged at Freemasonry, and Anne Royall set out to defend it. In some places she was well received and in other places, she was savagely attacked. A brutal assault upon Mrs. Royall in Vermont by an angry Anti-Mason caused great indignation among the Fraternity generally. It will be remembered that, of all the states, Vermont was most strongly Anti-Masonic. Mrs. Royall was warned not to enter the state upon her second tour but, as usual, she laughed at the idea of personal danger.¹² When she entered a particular store and asked if the merchant would like to buy her book, he promptly pushed her down the steps of the store breaking a bone in her leg and dislocating an ankle. She was attacked many times but Anne Royall remained undaunted in her support of Masons, believing that Masons had helped her when Christians had turned their backs. Mrs. Royall's book, *The Black Book*, is a collection of portraits of people she met. Many of the portraits are flattering, some are not. Some of her most stinging portraits are those of Anti-Masons. Anne Royall was considered a martyr among Masons.

In addition to being an ardent pro-Mason, Anne Royall was extremely anti-evangelical, which caused her further verbal and physical abuse. She was adamantly opposed to the idea of a Church and State Party. In Sarah Porter's estimation, "It was this proposed and secretly worked for union of Church and State that Anne Royall fought with voice and pen (not always gracefully) until the day she died. Stationing herself under the very dome of the Capitol at Washington, Mrs. Royall, for thirty odd years, watched Congress, as a cat watches a mouse-hole, to see that Evangelical lobbyists made no breaches in the Constitution. Unquestionably, Anne Royall did discover, expose, and frustrate several well-laid plans to make sincere and self-denying missionaries in the West the tools of political ambition and corporate greed. The bitterest hatred against Mrs. Royall in evangelical circles was due, not to her free-thought theories nor her defense of Freemasonry; but, mainly, to her actual achievements in blocking religio-political schemes."¹³ She believed that Sunday Schools were training-schools for traitors. She believed that tracts and missionaries merely took money from the poor. And, she commented that she would rather see one good deed than hear 1,000 words. She did not believe in Bible reading as she felt she had learned virtue from living with heathens. Mrs. Royall was not an atheist. She believed in God, and felt that He would never take from the poor or use people for personal gain. Rocks were thrown at her house and she was physically attacked because of her views on religion.

¹²Sarah Harvey Porter, *The Life and Times of Anne Royall* (New York: Arno Press, 1972), 101.

¹³Sarah Harvey Porter, *The Life and Times of Anne Royall* (New York: Arno Press, 1972), 116.

Mrs. Royall was finally arrested and convicted in 1829 for continually lashing out at evangelicalism. There were three counts in the indictment: She was a public nuisance, she was a common brawler, and she was a common scold. The first two charges were dropped. Anne was imprisoned, but friends came to her rescue and she was released.¹⁴

In 1830, as Anne Royall set out on a southern tour, word of the trial had spread. She was barred from certain areas in the south as it was predominantly evangelical. She was attacked by some students at the University of Virginia because she had opposed legislative appropriation for the institution, while others there welcomed her.¹⁵ Her tour proved unsuccessful. She was sixty-three years old, she was tired, and she was running out of money. She decided to start a newspaper. Mrs. Royall would publish two newspapers before her death. The first one was started in 1831 and was called *Paul Pry*. And the second one was started in 1836, and was called *The Huntress*. Mrs. Royall used the newspapers as a means of speaking out on issues about which she felt strongly. She was helped by her life long friend, Sarah Stack who often took over when Anne was ill. In the newspaper she addressed many subjects such as, corruption in government; the veto of the United States Bank Charter; Sunday mail transportation; non-partisan tariff regulations; nullification; sound money; tolerance for Roman Catholics; union of church and state; territorial expansion; internal improvements; liberal appropriations for scientific research, and state rights in the matter of slavery.¹⁶

Anne Newport Royall wrote five books about her travels around the country and the people she met. Of those five, *Sketches of History, Life and Manners in the United States, by a Traveller* is considered her best. She also wrote a novel called *The Tennessean* which some feel is the worst ever written in America. And, she also tried her hand at drama with a play called *The Cabinet, or Large Parties in Washington*. The play was performed once in Washington at the Masonic Hall. The text has been lost.¹⁷

At the age of eighty-five, Anne Newport Royall was still publishing a paper and still making her views known. She could not have known at the time what a tremendous step she was taking in the fight for women's rights. Whether one agrees with everything she said or did is not really important. The important thing is that she dared to say and do what she believed to be right.

Anne Newport Royall died in October, 1854. She is buried in her beloved Washington.

¹⁴Sarah Harvey Porter, *The Life and Times of Anne Royall* (New York: Arno Press, 1972), 138.

¹⁵Sarah Harvey Porter, *The Life and Times of Anne Royall* (New York: Arno Press, 1972), 146.

¹⁶Dumas Malone, ed. *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935, 1963), s.v. "Royall, Anne Newport."

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⁴The Annals of America, 1976 ed., s.v. "Anne Royall: A Tennessee Revival"



Anna Mary Robertson: Grandma Moses

by
Tom Proulx

Anna Mary Robertson was born on her family's farm in Washington County, New York, in 1860. She died near her birth place, 101 years later. During her early and middle years she lived a life typical for a woman of her generation. Her later years, thanks to talent and great luck, were spent as one of the most famous folk artists, a friend of Presidents and a media celebrity.

Anna's family immigrated to the United States between 1748 and 1838.¹ Her great grandfather, Hezekiah King, moved to Washington County, New York, looking for farming land on the frontier. He cleared the land, built his house and the local church. He was a veteran of the American Revolution. His powder horn, which was inscribed:

*Hezekiah King, Ticonderoga, Feb. 24 1777
Steal not this horn for fear of shame,
for on it is the owners name.*

was one of the family's proudest possessions. Hezekiah King's daughter Sarah was Anna's grandmother. Her other paternal great grandfather was Archibald Robertson. He was born in Scotland and immigrated about 1770. Robertson was a wagonwright by trade. Their son, Russell King Robertson, was Anna's father.

Anna's maternal grandfather, Gregory Shanahan, came from Waxford, Ireland sometime between 1836 and 1838. He was well-educated for his time and station in life and was a skilled shoemaker. On board the ship to America he met Bridget Devereaux. They settled near each other and later married. Gregory and Bridget's daughter Mary Shanahan was Anna's mother.

Russell King Robertson and Mary Shanahan had ten children. Anna Mary was the third, the first girl after two boys, Lester and Horace.

The first twelve years of her life were spent on the family farm and flax mill. Her life was divided between her work on the farm and learning the domestic skills she would need when she left to set up her own home. She had child care responsibilities at a very young age. As the oldest female, it was expected that she would take care of her younger siblings, while her older brothers helped on the farm and at the mill. She remembered this time of her life as a time "...free from care and worry, helping mother, rocking sister's cradle, taking

¹Anna Robertson, Grandma Moses: My Life's History (New York: Harper & Bros. 1947), 7-9.

sewing lessons from mother, sporting with my brothers..."² She learned to weave, spin and sew, make soap and candles as well as helping with the housework and cooking. Her family's farm had to be as self-sufficient as possible. Manufactured goods were scarce, expensive and hard to come by. School in her valley was three months in summer, three in the winter. She only went during the summer because she didn't have warm enough clothes and education was not considered a priority for females.

In 1870, Anna went to work as a hired girl. Her employers, Mr. and Mrs. Whiteside, were generous and treated her more like a daughter than a servant.³ She describes this time as a "grand education"⁴. She was cook and housekeeper for the elderly couple and she got to see some of the outside world. After Mrs. Whiteside died she stayed for years with Mr. Whiteside until his nephew came to live with him.

Anna's parents were opposed to her working for wages. They allowed her to go because they believed that she would soon tire of work life and return home. Anna, however, enjoyed being on her own and after leaving the Whitesides, Anna, along with her younger brother Arthur, went to work for a Mrs. Vandenberg. While at Mrs. Vandenberg's she and Arthur not only worked but also attended school. At the Eagle Bridge school Anna drew a series of maps for Mr. Mosher, her teacher, that were so good that years later they were still being used to teach geography.

After two years Anna returned to her home. School was about to start and Mrs. Vandenberg let her go home for a visit. When she arrived she found her whole family sick with measles. Anna stayed to nurse the sick. Everyone recovered but her brother, Horace. He died from the aftereffects. The measles had weakened his lungs and he never fully regained his health. Shortly after that Arthur died. Then after a year long illness her sister Miama died. She lost three siblings within six years. She was stoic in the face of these deaths, "We had to take the bitter with the sweet always"⁵ was how she expressed it.

In 1886, she met her husband-to-be. Thomas Shannon Moses was a hired man working for Mr. and Mrs. Sylvester James, whom Anna met when she came back to work for the Jameses after being employed in their household for a time the previous year. The year after meeting Thomas and Anna decided to marry. Thomas had received an offer to manage a farm in North Carolina and they decided that Anna would go with him. Anna's memory is that "My wedding was kind of unexpected"⁶. They went to visit her parents. After leaving, they took a train to Thomas's family house in Hoosick Falls. After dinner they drove down to the minister's and were married. Without waiting to even see their wedding cake they left for the south.

²Otto Kallir, *Grandma Moses* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc. 1973), 11-12.

³Anna Robertson, *Grandma Moses: My Life's History* (New York: Harper & Bros. 1947), 36.

⁴Anna Robertson, *Grandma Moses: My Life's History* (New York: Harper & Bros. 1947), 35.

⁵Anna Robertson, *Grandma Moses: My Life's History* (New York: Harper & Bros. 1947), 35.

⁶Anna Robertson, *Grandma Moses: My Life's History* (New York: Harper & Bros. 1947), 55.

After two days travel they arrived in Staunton, Virginia. Anna was tired and asked to stay over and Thomas was willing. They stayed at a boarding house and that evening Thomas went down to the drugstore for some shaving soap. At the drugstore Thomas met Mr. Bell, and Mr. Bell convinced him that the Shenandoah Valley was a much better place than North Carolina. Mr. Bell just happened to have a brother who was living on a farm just outside Staunton, that he didn't want to stay on and Bell was sure that it would be just the place for the Moses family to settle.

Anna had a very definite idea of what a marriage was, "I believe when we started out, that we were a team and I had to do as much as my husband did, not like some girls, they sit down, and then somebody has to throw sugar at them. I was always striving to do my share."⁷ She and Thomas took the Bell farm, bought cows, horses and chickens and started to farm. Anna's first commercial venture was in butter making. They had more milk than they could use so Anna decided that she would make butter and sell it. She was told that in the area you could buy all the butter you could carry for eight cents a pound. In her biography she says that you could buy it for that price but you couldn't eat it. She churned her butter and had Thomas take it to the store. Mr. Spitlar, the proprietor, liked Anna's butter and offered twelve cents a pound for it. A few days later word came that Mr. Spitlar would be willing to buy all the butter Anna cared to make for fifteen cents a pound. The price finally went up to twenty cents and Anna, by that fall, had made enough to pay for their two cows.

The next summer Thomas and Anna had the chance to rent a 600 acre farm near Fort Defiance. Thomas asked his sister, Mattie, and her husband, Charlie, to come down from New York to help farm. Mr. Eakle, the farm's owner, told Anna that he would pay her fifty cents for every pound of butter she would produce. So, on November 20, 1888, they left the Bell Farm and moved to Mr. Eakle's farm.

They were extremely busy on the new farm and had to send to New York for a large barrel churn to keep up with the demand for their butter. Anna was eight months pregnant when they moved and in December their first child, Winona, was born. Anna remembered those days at Fort Defiance this way, "Little Ona was a good child and did not give us any trouble. Those were busy days, sometimes we would have to churn and print up the butter at night, always get up at one o'clock to gather the vegetable (sic) and load up the truck wagon so as to leave by four in the morning to be in Staunton by seven o'clock. We would take a load every other day for six months. Hard work, but it paid as far as money is concerned."⁸

The Moses family lived the life of prosperous southern farmers of the time. When their second child, Loyd, was born in 1891 Anna had an African-American midwife. Aunt Carrie was a freed slave. Before Emancipation she was the slave of a doctor who taught her medicine and when the doctor died people called on her for medical advice and help. Thomas and Anna also hired an African-American man to help on the farm. They would visit with friends and neighbors in the area and relatives of both Thomas and Anna would come South to visit. Anna was particularly proud of winning first place for her canned fruit at the county fair in "Gipsyhill (sic) Park"⁹.

⁷Anna Robertson, *Grandma Moses: My Life's History* (New York: Harper & Bros. 1947), 54.

⁸Tom Biracree, *Grandma Moses* (New York: Chelsea House 1989), 36.

⁹Anna Robertson, *Grandma Moses: My Life's History* (New York: Harper & Bros. 1947), 85.

During the eight years they spent at Fort Defiance the Moseses had four children, Winona, Loyd, Forrest and Anna. They had saved enough that they decided to buy a farm of their own. They bought a farm called "Mount Airy", once again near Staunton. Their fifth child, Hugh, was born at Mount Airy. During their stay in Virginia Anna had ten children, five of whom died. One lived six weeks, the four others were stillborn. During their stay at Mount Airy the family was baptized. Anna was always a churchgoer but never particularly religious. She regarded church, in her early years, as a form of entertainment¹⁰ and she remarked that when Mrs. Whiteside had promised her a silver thimble if she would read the Bible through "...I read the Bible all through, but didn't know much more about it than when I started..."¹¹. She decided that she and the children should all get baptized (Thomas had already been baptized). So she and the children were sprinkled and she remarks that it didn't make any difference, it didn't change her at all.¹²

The Moseses had a chance to sell Mount Airy and took it. They moved onto a farm just outside the city limits of Staunton. It had only 20 acres but Thomas made an additional \$50 per month managing a neighboring place. One day Anna asked Thomas for some money. She went out without talking to anyone and bought some potatoes and she started another business. The next morning she fried a batch of potato chips and when the children came home for lunch she sent them down to the grocers and they got twenty-five cents for a pound of chips. Soon she was making ten pounds a week and finally she was shipping barrels of potato chips to White Sulphur Springs and Charlottesville. In her biography she says, "Well, that was the potato chip business. Always wanted to be independent, I couldn't bear the thought of sitting down and Thomas handing out money"¹³.

In 1905 Thomas and Anna sold their place near Staunton and moved back to New York. By any standards they had done well for themselves. They left New York as hired help and were returning to purchase a farm of their own. Years before, Anna had been friends with Jessie Van Rensselaer and had admired her family's farm. Now she and Thomas bought that farm and named it Mount Nebo. Anna was to spend the rest of her life on this land. Life settled down to a routine—Monday, washday, Tuesday, ironing and mending, Wednesday, baking and cleaning, Thursday, sewing, Friday, sewing and odd jobs, Saturday, bath day. Then there was maple sugar making, candle making, soap making, fruit picking, all these were the jobs for the women and children. Thomas was busy planting new strains of potatoes and apples, raising new kinds of sheep with thicker, fuller fleece. He read the Cornell Agricultural College extension bulletins that came in the mail and acted on their advice.¹⁴

¹⁰Anna Robertson, Grandma Moses: My Life's History (New York: Harper & Bros. 1947), 13.

¹¹Anna Robertson, Grandma Moses: My Life's History (New York: Harper & Bros. 1947), 38.

¹²Anna Robertson, Grandma Moses: My Life's History (New York: Harper & Bros. 1947), 87.

¹³Anna Robertson, Grandma Moses: My Life's History (New York: Harper & Bros. 1947), 91.

¹⁴William Armstrong, Barefoot in the Grass: The Story of Grandma Moses (Garden City: Doubleday & Company Inc., 1970), 40.

After they returned to New York, Anna's brother Joe's wife became ill with tuberculosis and died. Anna took in their baby child, Eleanor, and she lived with Anna until she married. Her own children married and left. Winona (Ona) married an engineer in 1910. Six years later Forrest and Loyd married a set of sisters and moved out. The next year Ona's husband enrolled in Officer's training and was sent to Europe. Ona served in the Navy until her husband returned. Her husband suffered from shell shock and they separated. Anna went to Hunter College and became a nurse. Hugh married and he and his wife, Dorothy, lived with Thomas and Anna.

In 1927 Thomas Moses died of angina pectoris at seventy-seven. Hugh and Dorothy took over the farm thus, as Anna wrote, "Leaving me unoccupied, I had to do something, so I took up painting pictures in worsted, then in oil."¹⁵

She started painting seriously after her husband died but she had done painting and decorating of things in her house from a early age. When she was small her father would bring home large sheets of newsprint for the children and Anna would draw pictures and color them with berry juice. During her childhood she remembers her father, recovering from illness, painting nature scenes around the walls of one of the rooms in their house. She painted on broken crockery and learned fancy sewing from her mother as a child.¹⁶ Her early artistic projects were decorations of household objects. Around 1905 she was papering a room in her house when she ran short of wallpaper and needed a piece for the fireboard. She pasted a piece of paper over the fireboard and proceeded to paint a scene of a lake and trees. Another project was an old tip-up table that her aunt sent to her as a flower stand. Anna painted scenes on the legs and covered the top with postal cards. In later years this table became her easel.¹⁷

When Anna began to spend more time creating pictures after the death of her husband, she started creating embroidered pictures. However, her arthritis got so bad that she had trouble holding her needles and her sister Celestia suggested that she paint instead of embroider. Using house paint and canvas from around the house she began. She quickly decided that she preferred to paint on masonite board rather than canvas. She would scavenge frames from around the house and paint pictures to fit the size of the frames.

Hugh and Dorothy took some of her early paintings and embroidered pictures to the local drugstore and they were put on display in the window. On Easter Sunday, 1938, Mr. Louis Caldor, an engineer and art collector, saw the pictures and immediately bought them all.¹⁸ Caldor met Anna Moses and bought all the pictures she had and promised to buy any more that she would paint. He then drove back to Manhattan and started trying to interest the rest of the world in this new found painter. Anna's first showing was at the Museum of Modern Art and that was followed by a one person show at a new art gallery, Gallerie St. Etienne, in New York. Anna was invited to the opening but declined on the grounds that she was already familiar with the paintings. Later that year she did visit Manhattan for an exhibit of her work at Gimbals Department Store auditorium. In 1940 Anna Moses won the New York State Prize for art and Thomas J. Watson, founder of IBM, purchased her winning picture "Old Oaken Bucket."

¹⁵Otto Kallir, Grandma Moses (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc. 1973), 15.

¹⁶William Armstrong, Barefoot in the Grass: The Story of Grandma Moses (Garden City: Doubleday & Company Inc., 1970), 40.

¹⁷Otto Kallir, Grandma Moses (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc. 1973), 18.

¹⁸Tom Biracree, Grandma Moses (New York: Chelsea House 1989), 13.

Anna Moses believed that idle hands were the devil's tool. She painted over a thousand pictures in the next 20 years. Her subjects were almost always taken from her memory of events or places. Some of her pictures were obvious remembrances of Currier and Ives prints she had seen as a child. Others were copies of pictures and newspaper artwork she had saved through the years.

In 1940 the *New York Herald Tribune*, in a story on Anna Moses, asserted that she was "Known to the countryside around Greenwich, New York, as Grandma Moses...". The name stuck and from then on Anna was Grandma Moses.

All during World War II Grandma Moses paintings were exhibited around the United States and everywhere her art was well received. Some art critics dismissed her work as out of the main stream and derivative but people loved her and many critics looked on her work as observant, convincing and natural.¹⁹ In 1950 fifty of her paintings were exhibited in Europe. As early as 1946 Christmas cards with reproductions of her work were available and popular. And that same year a documentary film of her life was produced and was nominated for an Academy Award. In 1949 she accepted the Women's National Press Club Award from President Truman and they became friends and correspondents.²⁰

Grandma Moses published her autobiography in 1947. It was a best seller here and in England. Edward R. Murrow interviewed Grandma Moses for "See It Now" on CBS television in 1955. When President Eisenhower's Cabinet wanted to give the president a gift they decided on a painting by Grandma Moses. Grandma Moses and General Eisenhower had written back and forth through the years and the Cabinet asked her to paint a picture of the President's Gettysburg Farm. In January, 1956 the painting was presented to the delighted President. In November 1960 she completed a series of paintings to illustrate Clement C. Moore's poem, *The Night Before Christmas*. She completed more than 25 pictures after her hundredth birthday²¹. In July of 1961 she was admitted to the Hoosick Falls Health Center and she died 3 months after her hundred and first birthday.

Grandma Moses lived for 101 years. She remembered seeing, as a child, houses draped in black the day after President Lincoln was assassinated. She received birthday greetings from President Kennedy the year before her death. Anna Moses was born into a world of self sufficient farms where transportation to the capital of the state was difficult. She and her husband took part in the economic boom in Virginia in the 1880's and ran their own business ventures in and near a small town. After moving back to their birth place they saw the advent of the automobile, ran their farm on the most up to date, scientific principles and at a time when most people were badly hurt by the Great Depression, Anna Moses had the luck and talent to begin to become arguably the most famous American artist of her time. Anna and Thomas were extraordinary people within the context of their society. Their struggle was to become the best at what they did. They were willing to change when needed but they never sought change, either for themselves or their society. They saw the highest good in making the best out of any situation.

¹⁹William Armstrong, Barefoot in the Grass: The Story of Grandma Moses (Garden City: Doubleday & Company Inc., 1970), 88-89.

²⁰Otto Kallir, Grandma Moses (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc. 1973), 60.

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The Civilian Conservation Corps in Augusta County, Virginia 1933-1940

Barbara Wright

Franklin Delano Roosevelt was keenly aware of the grim economic conditions that faced America in 1932 when he was elected President. The new President realized that widespread unemployment led to social strife, general unrest, and a breakdown of the family unit. FDR also realized that actual constructive work would help to improve the self-worth of millions of men reduced to poverty. The new President firmly believed that the most effective means of alleviating poverty was job creation. In FDR's opinion, the earliest and most effective way to create jobs was through the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). In spite of criticism, the CCC was a qualified success, both in popularity and constructive achievements. To demonstrate the success of the CCC, this paper will examine the four camps located in Augusta County, Virginia, which were a cross section of the nationwide program, and, as such, reflected not only its strengths but also its weaknesses.

The American people were quick to forget the hardships endured during the Great War, World War I. The Roaring Twenties served as an anesthetic. Spending rose. Good times prevailed. Moderation was not necessary because there would never be another war. But then the Stock Market crashed on October 29, 1929, and this state of optimism was brought to a screeching halt. America entered the Great Depression. Many wealthier Americans survived the ensuing years by simply doing without. But, the majority of American citizens suffered severe economic loss resulting from the drastic changes in the national economy.

By the election of 1932, America was in the midst of the Great Depression. Americans lived in an unending circle of helplessness because their government appeared unconcerned about the problems of ordinary Americans. Unemployment soared as factories laid off workers or simply closed. Americans cut back on their spending. Bread lines were commonplace sights in many cities. Family men became homeless men who roamed the streets looking for work. Families lost their homes every day due to foreclosures. Repossessions were daily occurrences. In his book, *Hard Times*, Studs Terkel interviewed individuals who lived through the Depression. One interviewee, who was responsible for repossessions and evictions, very vividly painted a picture of the misery of the times with his recollections. "We had 'em every single day. We used to come there with trucks and take the food off the table. The husband would come runnin' out of the house. We'd have to put the food on the floor, take the tables and chairs out."¹

Because the economy showed no evidence of improving, the American people were afraid. Again, from one of the interviewees in *Hard Times*, "people were up against the wall. Fear."² As the new President, Roosevelt was aware of this building fear in the country.

¹Terkel, Studs., *Hard Times* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1970), p. 460.

²Terkel, p. 391.

In his Inaugural Address, Roosevelt assured Americans that their nation would "endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper. So first of all let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself...."³ Roosevelt believed that the government had a responsibility to the American people, and he also believed in keeping his promises. The creation of useful, constructive jobs which would provide relief for the unemployed while at the same time reduce the economic stress of the country would be a primary objective in what was to become the New Deal. One such means which would offer constructive jobs was the Civilian Conservation Corps.

The concept of employing young men to work in conservation was not solely the development of President Roosevelt and his New Deal. In 1912, the idea of employing young men as soil soldiers was advanced by William James, a professor of philosophy at Harvard. In this concept, James saw benefits for both the young men and the country.⁴ In fact, even before Roosevelt was elected, the Forest Service in California and Washington had organized conservation programs which used unemployed men. Similar programs had been developed in European countries such as Denmark and Norway.⁵ All of these programs had one commonality in that they all offered work for unemployed men which, in turn, helped to improve the economic situations of the men, and, ultimately, the country as a whole.

Leslie Lacy discovered, in his research, that Roosevelt "loved the land and followed the strict Jeffersonian belief that an existence lived close to nature was the highest life plane."⁶ His home at Hyde Park, where Roosevelt had planted trees and worked to improve the quality of the soil, exemplified his interest in conservation. As Governor of New York, Roosevelt implemented some of the later CCC concepts, both as a means of offering employment for men on relief as well as a method of preserving the natural resources of his state.

Whatever the origin of the idea of the Civilian Conservation Corps, Roosevelt developed the idea in relation to the economic needs of the country, and he wanted the program in effect immediately. Thus, the establishment of the first work camp in the George Washington National Forest near Luray, Virginia, was carried out less than two weeks after the CCC was officially launched. The CCC was established so quickly that only "thirty-seven days elapsed between Roosevelt's inauguration and the signing of the first enrollee on April 7, 1933."⁷ Roosevelt knew that the quicker the unemployed young men, who were on relief rolls or aimlessly roaming city streets, found employment and purpose, the better for the young men themselves as well as the country as a whole.

The CCC was not a single program, but a combined program of the United States Army, the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Labor, and the Department of the Interior. Initially, the program was called Emergency Conservation Work, but, when Roosevelt sent his proposal to Congress to establish the program, he used the name Civilian Conservation Corps.⁸ That name became the popular name. In order to implement Roosevelt's plan of

³Freedman, Russell., *Franklin Delano Roosevelt* (New York: Clarion Books, 1990), p. 88.

⁴Lacy, Leslie Alexander., *The Soil Soldiers: The Civilian Conservation Corps in the Great Depression* (Radnor: Chilton Book Company, 1976), p. 17.

⁵Lacy, p. 17-18.

⁶Lacy, p. 18.

⁷Cohen, Stan., *The Tree Army: A Pictorial History of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942* (Missoula: Pictorial Histories Publishing Company, 1980), p.6.

⁸Cohen, p. 6.

employing 500,000 unemployed young men in the conservation of natural resources, the CCC used many agencies. A Director and Assistant Director plus a CCC Advisory Council, composed of representatives of the departments involved, would oversee the entire operation.

Roosevelt appointed Robert Fechner as the Director of the Emergency Conservation Work (CCC) on April 6, 1933. The new Director was a self-made man who had, through his natural ability as a leader of men, gained national recognition early in his career with union work, working his way eventually to a position on the General Executive Board of the International Association of Machinists, and a vice-president of the AF of L.⁹ Fechner was known for his administrative ability, courage and loyalty. To be his assistant, Fechner selected James J. McEntee, who was also active in union work. McEntee and Fechner had been close friends for twenty years. These two men, with the CCC Advisory Council, would direct the work of the CCC for the nine years of the program's existence.

To set up the actual camp sites, the United States was divided into nine state groupings according to Army Corps Areas, with at least one camp per state. These areas were under the administrative control of the Army which was, in turn, under the supervision of the Director. According to an article in The New York Times, April 13, 1933, General Douglas MacArthur, Chief of Staff, notified the corps area commanders by radio that they were directed to take charge of the forest unemployment camps (CCC). The corps area commanders would direct the construction, sanitation and welfare of the camps.¹⁰ MacArthur charged his men with the responsibility of assembling 250,000 men, both white and black, from all sections of the country and getting them settled in isolated work camps scattered throughout the United States. Each state would have at least one camp, and each camp would contain no more than two hundred men. The mobilization of that many men so rapidly was accomplished more quickly than the mobilization of the troops after the entry of the United States into World War I.¹¹ The problems encountered in organizing so many young men served as a learning experience both for the enrollees as well as the Army which, as a result, modernized some of its procedures.

The camps were composed of both urban and rural young men, ranging in age from 18 to 25, from all parts of the United States. Of the total enrollees, 56 per cent were from rural areas. The enrollees had to agree to be sent wherever needed throughout the country. Enrollment was for six months, with the option of re-enlisting, for a maximum of two years although many young men remained in the CCC longer than two years. The government furnished housing, clothes, food, and the necessary tools for whatever work the enrollee would do. The enrollees had the opportunity to learn job skills and to receive basic practical education. The job skills and education would enable the young men to more easily secure employment after completion of their enrollment in the CCC.

Four types of camps were organized. There were camps for white enrollees, for veterans of World War I, who were men in their 30s and 40s, for Indians and for black enrollees. Each enrollee received \$30 per month, \$25 of which was automatically sent to the enrollee's dependent family. In addition to the enrollees and military staff, the "enrollment of 24,000 "Local Experienced Men," or "L.E.M." was authorized."¹² In the various camp locations,

the "L.E.M." were of invaluable service because those men knew the camp locales and were older, more experienced men who could assist in the supervision of the enrollees during their work periods.

When Congress established the CCC on March 31, 1933, the act included an amendment prohibiting discrimination on the basis of race, creed or color. This amendment was proposed by the only black congressman, Oscar DePriest, Republican from Illinois.¹³ All of the camps were segregated except in certain Northern states where the black population was minimal. Those camps were integrated and experienced few difficulties. During the nine years that the CCC operated, 200,000 blacks were enrolled.¹⁴

An amendment did not guarantee that a policy would be carried out. Blacks were excluded from participation in the CCC, particularly in the South and in some areas of the North. In many camps where they were enrolled, the blacks performed the worst jobs and had the worst facilities. After protests from both black and white civil rights groups, the officials of the CCC acknowledged that few blacks were enrolled in the program but denied that this was due to racial discrimination.¹⁵

Living conditions for the Southern blacks were particularly difficult. Chronic poverty was a way of life, but the added economic stress of the Depression made this condition even worse. The menial jobs, such as street sweeping or garbage collecting previously done by blacks, were now done by white men. To the blacks, enrollment in the CCC offered hope.

Even so, some Southern states, such as Georgia or Florida, made little effort to include blacks in the CCC programs. Georgia justified its policy of exclusion by stating that the blacks were needed in the state's agricultural program. Georgia officials went so far as to state that "there are few negro families who . . . need an income as great as \$25 a month in cash," and so they hesitated to enroll the blacks.¹⁶ Florida was another Southern state that made little effort to enroll blacks in the CCC program. All enrollees, white or black, were to have been selected on the basis of need. Florida, after pressure from W. Frank Persons, the National CCC Selection Director, agreed to accept two hundred blacks. Georgia took considerably more pressure before the state agreed to cooperate in the enrollment of blacks. This added pressure was a threat from Persons "to withhold Georgia quotas entirely unless Negroes were selected."¹⁷ Over time, with close supervision from Persons, all of the Southern states enrolled blacks in their CCC programs.

Rarely were these blacks integrated into white camps. Black camps were established. The problems getting blacks included in the CCC presented one problem, but getting the various communities to accept approximately two hundred unattached black males in one location presented another problem. In an effort to minimize community complaints, Director Fechner established certain guidelines, namely, that all black enrollees be sent to camps within their respective states, and that black campsites be determined by the individual state governors.¹⁸ This, however, did little to prevent community hostility.

This community hostility was not only found in the Southern states. In fact, some Southern communities accepted the black camps with no problem. Two black camps were

⁹Lacy, p. 16.

¹⁰New York Times, 13 April 1933.

¹¹Lindley, Ernest K., The Roosevelt Revolution (New York: The Viking Press, 1933), pp. 102-103.

¹²Cohen, p. 8.

¹³Lacy, p. 29.

¹⁴Cohen, p. 8.

¹⁵Lacy, p. 74.

¹⁶Salmond, John A., The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-42: A New Deal Case Study (Durham: Duke University Press, 1967), p. 90.

¹⁷Salmond, p. 90.

¹⁸Salmond, p. 92.

established in Morton, Mississippi, with no trouble. The white citizens of that community were grateful for the conservation work done by the camps. However, in Thornhurst, Pennsylvania, the anticipated establishment of a black camp received an entirely different reception. The residents sent Director Fechner a petition protesting the establishment of the proposed camp, stressing the danger to their community if such a large number of unattached black males were isolated in an area composed completely of white people. The underlying fear of that particular community as expressed in the petition was the fear for the safety of their white women and children who might come in close proximity to the camp.¹⁹

In another attempt to pacify community resistance to the establishment of black CCC camps, Director Fechner decided that no blacks would have any position of authority other than that of educational advisors in the black camps. Accordingly, by May 1935, fourteen educational advisers had been appointed.²⁰ Director Fechner believed that white communities would feel safer if the camps were under the complete control of white officers.²¹ If community hostility concerning a black camp continued, Fechner relocated the camp or placed it on an Army base. Fechner frequently commented that, by being a Southerner himself, he "clearly understood the Negro problem."²²

Friction continued between Fechner and Persons about the black camps and the number of black enrollees. Roosevelt was consulted and sided with Fechner, although the President asked that his name be kept out of the discussion. Fechner, therefore, announced that blacks would only be selected as vacancies opened in already existing black camps. This decision by Fechner unfortunately meant that fewer blacks would enter the CCC because the blacks who qualified re-enlisted several times, and many stayed in the program for years. The Director announced that it was not possible to "accept every person who wanted to enroll in a CCC camp."²³ With this decision, Fechner hoped to quiet white protests and solve the problem of locating black camps where there would be no objections.

The Department of Agriculture, working with the U.S. Forest Service and Soil Conservation Service, would operate two-thirds of the camps, and the Department of the Interior would operate the remaining third.²⁴ Camps were designated by number and initial of the particular agency involved such as National Forest (NF) or State Park (SP). Work projects included "everything from artificial lakes in all the mountain parks to doorknobs on vacation cottages in the beach parks."²⁵

In fact, CCC enrollees fired the final shot at Gettysburg. In 1934, while working in the National Park in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, a shell from the Civil War was discovered. The Army commander decided the shell was too dangerous to send to a museum. With the

appropriate ceremonies and the assistance of the Army Ordnance staff, the shell was exploded, thereby firing the last shot of the Battle of Gettysburg.²⁶

Although the Department of Agriculture and the Department of the Interior supervised the daily work projects, the Army, because of its experience in managing large groups of men, took charge of the camps from when work stopped in the afternoon until work began the next day. The CCC enrollees, during that time, were, for all intents and purposes, on a military base and conducted themselves accordingly.

The Department of Labor was to be responsible for the selection of the young men. The basic requirements for the CCC enrollees were that they be between 18 and 25, unmarried, and have families who were on public relief rolls. The young men had to agree to have \$25 of the \$30 monthly allotment returned to their families, thereby aiding their families in economic distress back home. Enrollment in the CCC removed these young men from a life of idleness due to unemployment and gave them a new life of productivity and a growing sense of contributing to not only their self-improvement but also to the improvement of the country as a whole. Roosevelt said as much when he addressed the CCC through the radio: "Through you the nation will graduate a fine group of strong young men, clean-living, trained to self-discipline and, above all, willing and proud to work for the joy of working."²⁷

All of the camps were basically the same which contributed to easier management. Each camp contained four barracks for approximately 200 men, a kitchen and mess hall, infirmary, a bath house, latrine, educational building, and twelve other buildings to house Army personnel and support services. More than 4000 camps were built during the nine year history of the CCC.²⁸

As with any new program, there were problems. The situation with black enrollees brought criticism from white civil rights activists and black leaders, particularly the NAACP leaders after 1938. Although there was community objection to the placement of black camps in their neighborhoods, the realization that the camps would improve the economy helped to reduce the feeling of hostility in many areas. At the same time, the blacks, to a small degree, felt that Roosevelt was making an effort to also offer them a new deal.

Adjustment to a totally new living environment was a problem faced by most enrollees. They all had to adapt to new situations, new disciplines, new sections of the country, all of which would in some way change their lives. John Byrne, in his master's thesis on the Civilian Conservation Corps, described the CCC very succinctly as a program which "...offered 'three squares,' firmer muscles, and an exposure to educational opportunities."²⁹ Perhaps, however, the \$5 that each enrollee received each month made one of the greatest differences. In the 1930s, \$5 was a considerable amount of money, and \$5 was also more money than many of the enrollees had ever had in their possession at one time.

¹⁹Salmond, p. 92.

²⁰Burkly, Arm., "Blacks in the Civilian Conservation Corps: Successful Despite Discrimination." Proceedings and Papers of the Georgia Association of Historians XIV (1993), p. 41.

²¹Lacy, p. 77.

²²Salmond, p. 94.

²³Salmond, p. 99.

²⁴Cohen, p. 28.

²⁵Byrne, John P., "The Civilian Conservation Corps in Virginia 1933-1942" (Master's Thesis, University of Montana, 1982), p. 54.

²⁶Horan, James David. The Desperate Years: A Pictorial History of the Thirties (New York: Bonanza Books, 1962), p. 106.

²⁷Cohen, p. 10.

²⁸Cohen, p. 31.

²⁹Byrne, p. 86.

Another problem in many camps was mutiny. The causes of these mutinies ranged from simple revolts because of poor food or refusing to accept an 11 P.M. curfew to a more serious revolt involving a complete camp in Maine which refused transfer to Maryland. This particular incident was quelled when the leaders were dismissed.³⁰ An article published in The Washington Times, November 18, 1937, gave details of mutinies in four CCC camps in the Shenandoah National Park in Virginia. Two of these camps, Camp 3 in Sherando and Camp 2 in Mt. Solon, were located in Augusta County, Virginia. Camp 3 in Sherando involved twelve men who refused to work on Armistice Day, even though they were informed that it was not a legal holiday. The men were discharged. At Camp 2 in Mt. Solon, eight men were dishonorably discharged for desertion and refusal to work.

According to the Times article, most of the deserters and malcontents were from near Philadelphia or Scranton, Pennsylvania, who were recent recruits into the CCC. Many of the young men enlisted with the wrong impression of what they would be expected to do in the CCC. Some of the young men had the impression that they were going to a Southern Resort for the winter. The enrollees arrived to find snow and ice and plenty of hard work. Furthermore, coming from mining communities in Pennsylvania, the young men were used to striking to solve grievances. The local CCC officials did not understand this behavior and took the young men for malcontents. At one of the camps outside Augusta County, one of the young men announced that his type of people did not work with picks and shovels and he had no intention of doing so either. Some of the enrollees complained to their parents about conditions in their camps, and their parents, in turn, complained to authorities. Investigations were ordered, but the camps were found in perfect order and the complaining enrollees had "gone over the hill" and deserted.

A more serious problem throughout the camps was desertion. The discipline of an Army-like camp coupled with long distances from home caused many young men to desert. Usually, those particular young men had never been away from their homes. Rather than assign enrollees to camps closer to their homes, the "agency purposely assigned enrollees to camps relatively far from their homes in order to discourage Awols."³¹ Instead of reducing desertions, the desertions increased. In fact, during the last few years of the CCC, the desertion rate reached serious proportions.

Sectional fighting developed in camps where northern and southern enrollees were combined in the same camp. In one particular camp in Virginia composed entirely of Virginia enrollees, when enrollees were brought in from Pennsylvania, actual fighting erupted with some injuries. The area where the barracks were located was divided by an imaginary line. The Pennsylvania enrollees, the North, were on one side, and the Virginia enrollees, the South, were on the other. Neither group was to cross the line, but, of course, they did. According to my interviewee, it was "a second Civil War." The sheriff was called to quell the riot, and the Virginia enrollees were transferred to another camp.³² The CCC officials had not considered the fact that young men from Northern urban areas would have completely different concepts of life from Southern rural men. Quite frequently the concepts clashed.

Still another criticism was the value of teaching urban skills to rural enrollees who would never seek employment in a factory. The same held true about teaching urban enrollees about the conservation of natural resources when they would, in all probability, return to their urban homes. No matter where the young enrollees came from, the CCC camps taught them good work habits which were intended to improve their character. These work habits were developed through rigid discipline.³³ Since the camps were like army posts when the enrollees were not working, the entire group was continually supervised by the commanding officer and his staff so that misbehavior was not tolerated. Thus, the young enrollees learned self-discipline and how to relate to young men from different types of environments.

Augusta County, Virginia, was a large, sprawling county, sparsely populated in the 1930s. The County was primarily agricultural, although a drought in 1930 in the Shenandoah Valley counties severely affected agricultural production. Part of the George Washington National Forest covered the County, and the C. & O. Railroad intersected the County. Washington, DC, was in close proximity. All of these factors made Augusta County a suitable location for at least one of the state's quota of CCC camps. But, in fact, Augusta County had four CCC Camps during the nine years that the program functioned.

Augusta County, like elsewhere in Virginia, did not feel the effects of the Depression as much as other areas in other states. The economy in Virginia was diverse, ranging from agriculture to manufacturing to trade, and the state operated under a sound conservative fiscal policy. Even though the effects were less, the citizens of Augusta County still faced difficult times during the Depression. Thus, the establishment of the CCC Camps aided in improving the economy of the general area as did the establishment of the Camps in other locales.

Although the two Senators from Virginia, Carter Glass and Harry Byrd, were not completely in accord with the principles of the New Deal, no direct effort was made to prevent the participation of Virginia in the programs. Fully aware that not everyone supported his New Deal programs, such as the CCC, Roosevelt "not only made sure that there was plenty in the CCC to interest the states, but he also involved the governors in the planning process."³⁴

Individual states were responsible for the recruitment of the eligible enrollees for the CCC. According to the research of Byrne, "Virginia was promised 'many camps' and guaranteed 5,000 positions in the initial national recruitment quota of 250,000 men."³⁵ Although Senator Byrd was not in total accord with all of the New Deal programs, he was a shrewd politician, and if states were to receive government assistance from those programs, Byrd wanted Virginia to get a fair share. An average of 63 camps per year were operated in Virginia.

Virginia ranked fourth nationally in the number of camps established within a state. Byrne found, in his research, that this possible favoritism by Washington "may have been motivated more out of respect for the clout of the Virginia congressional delegation than it was motivated by an appreciation for the hardships imposed by the Depression in Virginia."³⁶

³⁰Salmond, p. 132.

³¹Gorham, Eric., "The Ambiguous Practices of the Civilian Conservation Corps." Social History 14 (May 1992), p. 234.

³²Peal, William., Personal interview (2 October 1995)

³³Gorham, p. 236.

³⁴Byrne, p. 12.

³⁵Byrne, p. 12.

³⁶Byrne, p. 30.

In April, 1933, Augusta County officials were notified that there would be two camps built in the county, one near Stokesville and one in the George Washington National Forest, southeast of Waynesboro. The immediacy of Roosevelt's CCC implementation was obvious in Augusta County. Within six days following notification, 50 CCC workers began road work between the Staunton dam on North River and the Pendleton road. Three CCC camps began in Augusta County within three weeks of the approval by Congress to establish the program.³⁷ Applications for eighty four unemployed young men were accepted, including 54 from Augusta County, 10 from Waynesboro and 20 from Staunton.³⁸

By June, 1933, there were four CCC camps in Augusta County. A camp at Mt. Solon for white enrollees was established which, in 1938, became a CCC camp for veterans of World War I. A camp at West Augusta and a camp at Sherando were established for white junior enrollees. North of Goshen, a camp for black enrollees from Maryland, Virginia, Washington, DC, and Pennsylvania was established.³⁹ Each individual camp had a number assigned to it and the initials of the particular agency involved such as NPS (National Park Service), NF (National Forest), and F (National Forests; U.S. Forest Service; Department of Agriculture).

Camp NF-2 (National Forests; U.S. Forest Service; Agriculture) at Mt. Solon was originally established for young white enrollees, but, in 1938, became a camp for veterans. Many veterans of World War I and a small number of veterans of the Spanish American War had supported Roosevelt in his bid for the presidency, thinking that he would offer them, too, a new deal. These veterans gathered in Washington, in May 1933, hoping to make Congress aware of the fact that they needed their benefits.

To avoid a confrontation with the disgruntled veterans, Roosevelt sent his "eyes and ears," his wife, Eleanor, to hear the complaints of the "second Bonus Army."⁴⁰ The veterans were allowed to stay at a vacant Army post near Washington, and they could obtain Army rations while there. The appearance of Mrs. Roosevelt indicated to the veterans that some official attention was being given to their complaints. The President, when he personally visited the post, gave them an invitation to join the CCC. Many veterans joined the CCC over the next few years because it offered not only a relief from the dreariness of their lives but also training and employment opportunities. One of their camp destinations was Mt. Solon, Augusta County, Virginia.

According to the Camp Inspection Report, March 25, 1939, there were 175 veteran enrollees at Camp NF-2 (Mt. Solon) with five Army leaders and five project leaders. One enrollee was listed as AWOL. The report discussed general camp facilities such as menus, educational programs, sanitation, medical services and religious services.

When the veterans arrived in 1938, they made numerous improvements to the camp, such as repairing the roofs, remodeling the kitchen, repainting and replacing the pit latrine with a septic tank system. Allison Otis, in her compilation of the CCC camps for the Forest

³⁷MacMaster, Richard K., Augusta County History 1865-1950 (Staunton:Augusta County Historical Society, 1987), p. 182.

³⁸MacMaster, p. 182.

³⁹National Archives CCC, (Augusta County Inspection Reports, 1933-1939).

⁴⁰Farr, Finis., FDR (New Rochelle: Arlington House, 1972), p. 229-230.

Service, found that Camp NF-2 had excellent morale although "3, 751 man-days had been lost.... because of insufficient physical conditioning prior to arrival at the camp."⁴¹ Most of the enrollees at all of the camps were in poor physical condition. This was indicative of the harshness of the Depression on the lives of everyone.

Each camp had an education adviser who incorporated the job-training methods developed by the CCC. Working on the premise that, to do a job most efficiently, the enrollees should understand its purpose, its significance to the area, both for the present and the future, its value to the economy of the local communities, and what work techniques would be employed, then the educational training should be simple and unstructured.⁴²

Guy B. Arthur of the Department of Interior, who was the supervisor of project training, recognized that many of the young CCC enrollees were there because they could not find jobs. The young men had not enrolled to obtain more schooling, which they had left by choice because they saw no benefits in attending school, but had enrolled because the CCC offered much needed jobs and money. With this monthly allowance, the young men would be able to assist their families (parents, wives, siblings) in their respective communities. Arthur and Lieutenant Colonel Sidney V. Bingham from the Army were instrumental in developing educational plans for the young CCC enrollees which would lead to self-improvement and assist them in obtaining work once they left the program. Both of these men believed that practical, hands-on education was more important to these young men than a traditional education. It was more important for the young men to learn typing and mechanics than to learn radio broadcasting or art instruction. Col. Bingham firmly believed that the prime objective of the CCC was to prepare the enrollees, through practical educational training and hands-on application in the field, "to follow instructions, acquire careful and correct work habits, and develop a sense of responsibility."⁴³ Bingham believed that employers would hire the CCC enrollees for that very reason. The CCC enrollees were not experts in any of the areas where they had worked, but they had shown that they were more than willing to learn. Employers could pick up the training process where the CCC left off.

However, since the camp at Mt. Solon was for older veterans, the educational policy, while remaining the same as far as teaching job-related skills, was implemented in an adjusted style. The veterans were older, and, therefore, were not as interested in attending classes like the young enrollees. A majority of the veterans at Camp NF-2 were from rural areas, and, because of their background, were very resistant to any further education. Therefore, the methods used for instruction had to be adapted so that the men would recognize the value of learning new skills and willingly participate. Nonetheless, academic and vocational activities were provided, and every attempt was made to meet the needs of the veterans, whether through individual instruction or illustrated demonstrations. Classes were held five nights each week with an average nightly attendance of 38 enrollees.⁴⁴ Instruction was given in carpentry, cooking, photography, reading and writing, arithmetic and current events. Even though many of the veterans resisted further educational training, the use of different methods of instruction prepared many of them for more useful work once they left the CCC.

⁴¹Otis, Allison, et al. The Forest Service and the Civilian Conservation Corps: 1933-42 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1986), p. 91.

⁴²Lacy, pp. 40-43.

⁴³Lacy, p. 45.

⁴⁴Inspection Report, Mt. Solon, 25 March 1939.

As in all of the camps, the enrollees were fed well-balanced meals. Probably, in most instances, the men ate better than before they enrolled. And, nourishing meals were one of the benefits of participation in the CCC program. According to the Camp Inspection Report, March, 1939, the ration allowance for each enrollee per day was less than fifty cents. In fact, from this report, the actual cost of feeding the entire camp of approximately two hundred men for the month of February, 1939, was \$1921.99.⁴⁵

The camps at Sherando, in the George Washington National Forest southeast of Waynesboro, and at Ramsey Draft (West Augusta) were for white enrollees. According to the Camp Inspection Report, February, 1937, the enrollees at Camp NF-3 (National Forest) at Ramsey Draft were from Tennessee, Georgia, Florida, Alabama and Virginia, with a total enrollee number of 161, with four enrollees AWOL. There were twelve local men enrolled. The camp was originally occupied in May, 1933, abandoned May, 1934, reoccupied August, 1935, reconstituted May, 1936. Morale was good and overall rating of camp was good.⁴⁶

According to the Camp Inspection Report, January, 1939, for Camp F-8 (National Forest; U.S. Forest Service; Agriculture) at Sherando, there were 200 enrollees with two enrollees AWOL. The camp was established May 15, 1933. According to the Report, complaints had been made about the administration of the camp and morale was low. A Special Investigator was sent to determine the situation.

Special Investigator Patrick J. King, in talking with some of the young men, determined that the junior officer, the doctor and the educational advisor were being handicapped in carrying out their duties by the attitude of the commanding officer. This situation was to be discussed in more detail with the District Commander. Special Investigator King further stated that he believed the camp was "in need of attention for adjustment on present administration." This information was included in a supplementary report, January 20, 1939, which was sent to the Director of the CCC.⁴⁷

All of the camps in Augusta County were engaged in conservation work. The enrollees at Ramsey Draft worked on road construction and maintenance, trails and fire breaks, and timber cutting. The enrollees at Sherando completed construction and complete extension of concrete spillway at Sherando Dam, maintained trap lines for predatory animals within Big Levels Game Refuge and maintenance of Sherando Lake Forest Camp to United States Forest Standards, opened horse and foot trails, and strung four miles of telephone line through the George Washington National Forest. The Camp at Mt. Solon worked on road construction, stream improvement, reforestation, and public camp ground development. The Camp at Goshen built roads and trails, maintained telephone lines, and worked in reforestation.

Enrollees in all the camps ate well-balanced meals, prepared with variety. The average ration allowance per enrollee per day at Sherando was less than fifty cents. The actual cost of meals in December, 1938, at Sherando, was \$1958.28 including turkey ration (probably for Christmas). Meals at the camps included beef stew, spareribs, potatoes, hot rolls and hot biscuits, frankfurters, vegetables and left overs.

⁴⁵Inspection Report, Mt. Solon, 25 March 1939.

⁴⁶Inspection Report, Ramsey Draft, 26 February 1937.

⁴⁷Inspection Report, Sherando, 19 January 1939.

All three camps, Sherando, Mt. Solon and West Augusta, participated in local community religious services. Also, local clergymen, came to the camps to conduct services. At West Augusta, the Sub-district Chaplain conducted bi-monthly services which were attended by the entire enrolled personnel. At Sherando, enrollees had the opportunity to attend at least one weekly religious service. There were no black churches in Goshen the enrollees of the CCC Camp could attend.

Recreational facilities at all three camps included activities such as pool, card games, checkers (these non-athletic activities were at Mt. Solon), basketball, boxing, moving pictures, tennis and volley ball. At Sherando, ball teams competed with other CCC camps and local teams.⁴⁸ Each camp had books, magazines and newspapers for the enrollees.

The educational programs at both of the camps for the young white enrollees were similar. Classes were taught in the basic fundamentals such as reading, writing, spelling and arithmetic. In addition, classes were given in typing, motor mechanics, geometry, photography and mechanical drawing. Programs given on safety, fire control, and coordinated work procedures to obtain better results were attended by the entire camp enrollment.

At the Sherando Camp, the Inspection Report, January, 1939, indicated positive results from the educational program. Six men had been placed in permanent employment. The Educational Advisor felt that the employability of the entire group of enrollees had increased considerably through the educational and vocational training at the camp. During the previous six months, seventeen enrollees who were considered illiterate upon admission to the program were now able to read a newspaper, write a letter, and understand simple math.⁴⁹

Lastly, Camp GWNF-11 (George Washington National Forest) at Goshen was established in June, 1933, for black enrollees from Maryland, the District of Columbia, and Virginia. At the time of inspection, April, 1935, there were 125 enrollees with 15 local enrollees and no enrollees AWOL. There was a Company Surgeon located in the camp. The Report indicated that proper transmission and receipt of messages from the camp was inadequate due to the connection of the telephone lines to the Forest Service line.

The educational program at Camp GWNF- 11 was exactly the same as the programs at the other camps. Practical education was taught such as typing, cooking, plumbing, talking (elocution?), carpentry and auto mechanics. The policy of the CCC was to prepare the enrollees for employment once they left the program. Whether or not the blacks could use the training obtained to secure jobs remained to be seen. The Report indicated that on Sunday and Thursday there were religious services. The sub-district Chaplain visited the camp monthly.

Altercations happened at all camps. It was not possible to take approximately two hundred men from different sections of the country and confine them in isolated areas under totally new rules and regulations without an occasional flare up. Therefore, the incident involving the black enrollees at Goshen which culminated in arrests was not totally unexpected.

The incident in question occurred in March, 1935, when one of the black enrollees, who "had the reputation of being a rough character," asked for a Saturday pass and was refused on the grounds that, due to bad weather the previous week, the enrollees would need to work on Saturday to make up lost time.⁵⁰ The enrollee then asked "if he were to

⁴⁸Inspection Report, Sherando, 19 January 1939.

⁴⁹Inspection Report, Sherando, 19 January 1939.

⁵⁰Inspection Report, Goshen, 15 April 1939.

"raise enough hell around camp," would he be discharged?"⁵¹ Determined to either obtain a pass or cause a ruckus in the camp, the enrollee returned to his barracks and began to "raise hell." It should be noted that, as in most black camps to maintain community support, the commanding officers were white Army personnel. On this particular night, only the second in command and a senior foreman were in charge of 125 black men in a very isolated setting.

As the disturbance in the barracks grew noisier, the foreman and the officer in charge went to check. Men from the barracks were standing outside because they were afraid to go in. The enrollee causing most of the disturbance refused to come out when asked to. Accordingly, the foreman tried to physically remove him from the barracks. Thinking that the enrollee was reaching in his pocket for a knife, the foreman hit him over the head twice with a black jack. The temporary officer in charge stood by with a .22 caliber target pistol just in case the foreman needed assistance. Because the enrollee and two other enrollees who had been drinking continued to cause problems, the sheriff from Staunton was called. One of the enrollees, who had been drinking, disappeared by the time the sheriff arrived. However, both of the other enrollees plus another enrollee who attempted to interfere with the Sheriff were arrested. These men were tried and sentenced in the Staunton Civil Court. The enrollee who had begun the disturbance was given the longest sentence, 90 days.

In accordance with Army procedures, an investigative officer was sent to the camp at Goshen. In his report, April 15, 1935, to the Commanding General, Third Corps Area (Virginia was in the Third Corps Area), Capt. Riley E. McGarraugh indicated that the incident was the first trouble at the Goshen camp. Overall, the camp morale was good. The report indicated that there were contributing factors other than the mere refusal of a pass to one enrollee that caused the problems. The circulation in the camp of the Afro-American a newspaper which emphasized race discrimination, the bad weather for the past few weeks so that Saturday passes were denied, and the opportunity to test the second in command while the Captain was away combined to make a volatile situation. Drinking and one disgruntled enrollee tipped the balance of an otherwise stable camp.

Capt. McGarraugh, in his investigative report, clearly stated "That it is not the practice of those in authority to resort to the use of fire arms or weapons and that the pistols issued to the camp were locked up in the company safe."⁵² The report noted that the pistol in question was the personal property of the second in command. The report also indicated that, the same weekend this disturbance occurred, the white educational advisor was changed to a black educational advisor.

Three individuals were interviewed who were directly connected with the CCC camps from 1933 to 1940. Both of the male interviewees served in CCC camps, the white man at the camp at Grottoes and the black man at Fort Myers in northern Virginia. The third interviewee's father worked at the camp at Goshen.

Both of the men related stories which brought to life the research done on the CCC camps. The white interviewee from the camp at Grottoes spoke at great length about the military aspect of the camp. In fact, immediately upon his arrival in Grottoes in 1934, he was told by the Captain that he was in the Army as long as he was in camp. When he left camp for daily work, he was working for the Forest Department (CCC).

His first job was surveying the boundary lines for the George Washington National Forest. His second job was with the United States marshals who moved out the mountain people whose homes were within the Forest boundaries. The mountain people were sent prior notification that they must move. When they did not do so, the United States marshals, with the assistance of twenty five CCC men, went in and physically moved them. The mountain people did not go peacefully, and, occasionally, they shot at the marshals and the CCC men. Because many of the mountain people were uneducated, they did not understand the notification that their homes were no longer their homes but property of the Park Service. The mountain people were moved to government settlement houses in Grottoes. The following day, the CCC men would go back into the mountains and burn down the homes. Any material that did not burn, such as tin roofs, was buried. All evidence of human habitation was destroyed. Trees were planted where gardens once grew. However, even today, traveling along the Skyline Drive, tourists can see fruit trees that were left from the destruction of the mountain homes.

The interviewee thought the idea of putting a road (Skyline Drive) through those hills crazy, but, "Sure enough, I seen it done."⁵³ The CCC had nothing to do with the actual construction of the Skyline Drive. It was built by private contract. The CCC sodded the banks and built the rock walls along the Drive. The men helped the surveyors and not only opened fire trails but also the Appalachian Trail.

Another job the government wanted the CCC men to do involved destroying the mountain stills. The stills were camouflaged with brush to make discovery difficult, but, with careful searching, the CCC men were able to find them. Occasionally, the men would discover a still in operation. The interviewee remembered "this one truck load—24 boys in the crew and I knowed one day they all come in drunk."⁵⁴

Army trucks carried the enrollees to Staunton or Harrisonburg for their outings. The truck was parked at the Police Station, and, at 11:00 p.m. EXACTLY, the truck left to return to the camp. If for some reason, such as the movie running longer, the enrollee missed the truck, he had to walk back to camp. Recreational facilities were limited, but both Staunton and Harrisonburg had movie theaters, restaurants and community sponsored dances. The blacks from Goshen could go to restaurants and dance halls in Staunton.

A typical day at the camp at Grottoes, which included enrollees from all over the state of Virginia, began at five o'clock in the morning. Reveille was at 5:30 a.m. The men would line up according to barracks for roll call with the Captain standing in the front near the flag pole. Procedures followed Army rules. Each sergeant of the barracks was responsible for the whereabouts of his men and any absences or illnesses were reported to the Captain. After roll call, the men got ready for inspection. The interviewee remembered how carefully the bunks had to be made up and said this was done "military style, no wrinkles or nothing in it. Everything was military style.... even our socks had to be folded up a certain way. Then the Captain would come through and make inspection. Everything had to be perfect."⁵⁵ One captain wore white gloves and would even rub the window sills. If he found any dust, the barracks was fined. The entire camp followed Army rules to the letter.

⁵¹Inspection Report, Goshen, 15 April 1939.

⁵²Inspection Report, Goshen, 15 April 1939.

⁵³Peal, William., Personal interview, 2 October 1995.

⁵⁴Peal, William., Personal interview, 2 October 1995.

⁵⁵Peal, William., Personal interview, 2 October 1995.

At seven o'clock, the enrollees climbed in their designated trucks and left for work in the mountains. From when the enrollees left camp until they returned at four o'clock, they were under the direction of the CCC. The mess hall packed lunch each day for the enrollees. The enrollees returned from work in the mountains at four o'clock. There would be retreat at sundown when the flag was taken down. Roll call was taken to be sure everyone was present. The enrollees could walk three miles to Grottoes or fifteen miles to Staunton or Harrisonburg, to see a movie perhaps, but, after working hard all day, the enrollees usually were too tired. At nine o'clock, taps were blown and the lights went off.

The black interviewee was at Fort Myers, Virginia, attached to the 10th Cavalry. This CCC camp of approximately 75-100 enrollees was located on the base of the 10th Cavalry which was the only entirely black base in the Army, including the officers. There were only two barracks designated for CCC enrollees. Research had indicated that when there was community objection to a black camp, Director Fechner located the camp on an Army base. This was not clarified in the interview. This interviewee was in the CCC for only three months in 1933. Because his parents owned a grocery store in Staunton, they were not on relief, which was a qualification for enrollment in the CCC. His discharge took place the very day that was determined.

When asked about the possibility of any objections from whites, the interviewee stressed that everyone got along fine. The CCC men were only allowed to leave camp on the weekends when they would usually go into Washington, D.C., if they had enough money. There were no educational classes offered for that particular group of CCC men according to the interviewee.

This interviewee also stressed the military aspect of the camp. Inspection was held every morning, retreat and taps at night. The CCC enrollees ate their meals in the 10th Cavalry mess hall. His particular job was working in the commissary unloading 100 lb. bags of sugar and flour. Another job of his was delivering groceries to the homes of officers on the base. Delivering groceries was parallel to a job a black would have had outside the program, if such a job was available to a black during the Depression.

Some of the black CCC men at Fort Myers, who had been there for a long time, were learning to be tree surgeons. They were involved in conservation work in an area 25 miles to the west of the camp. The CCC men were particularly involved with saving certain old trees in that area, and they worked with Conservation people (Forestry Service?).

The final interviewee was a black woman, the wife of the black CCC interviewee, whose father worked at Camp GWNF- 11 at Goshen. Her family lived in Millboro, Virginia, on a farm. She was one of ten children. Her father joined the CCC for the extra income and worked at the camp at Goshen. Because he was a locally hired man, her father was able to go home on the weekends and return to camp early on Monday mornings. Her father's job was in the supply room at Goshen, issuing clothing and other needed supplies. He also was involved in cutting right of ways through the forest for telephone and electrical lines. Enrollees from Goshen also fought forest fires. She remembered that her father wore a special type of uniform and that he spoke of having a white commander. She did not think that her father took advantage of any of the educational and vocational training classes available to the CCC enrollees. It was her impression that most of the young men were local, from Hot Springs, Warm Springs, Millboro and Goshen.

Augusta County, like counties nationwide, benefited from the establishment of the CCC in many ways. The local businessmen and storekeepers welcomed the enrollees. Not only was there an exchange of money, but also the exchange of various cultural ideas between the businesses and the young men from other parts of the United States. Services such as the

water supply to the CCC camp at Mount Solon came from the Staunton Reservoir. According to the white interviewee, the land on which the camp at Grottoes was built belonged to the family of one of the camp foreman. The government rented the land from them. There was interaction between the communities and the camps through the ministerial groups, through local people who were asked to lecture, through recreational activities such as the ball teams at Sherando which competed with local teams and through the mingling of unattached young men with the people of the various communities. Much of the food for the four camps was purchased locally. A lasting result of one of the camps was the excellent recreational facility constructed at Lake Sherando. Conservation projects by the four camps during their existence in Augusta County would last for a long time. Byrne found, in his master's research that the success of the Virginia CCC was, and is, substantiated by the continued annual reunions of former enrollees. Why would men come together to celebrate a failure?⁵⁶

To Roosevelt, the people of the United States were the greatest resource; therefore, the primary objective of the Civilian Conservation Corps was to create jobs that would help the people. These jobs would not only be work, but also would be work that taught job skills and self-discipline so that when the CCC enrollee returned to society he would be able to get a job. Roosevelt was also concerned about the conservation of the natural resources of the United States. Thus the CCC would help the people while at the same time help to preserve the natural resources. Consider that 500,000 young men were employed who, in addition to many other conservation contributions, planted 17 million acres of new forests across the country.

The CCC lasted for nine years, 1933-1942. It was the first major Depression agency to be eliminated by Congress. The Civilian Conservation Corps officially ended June 30, 1942. That the program was eliminated did not mean that the program was not a success. The success was measured in the thousands of young men who were offered employment working in the forests to conserve the natural resources of the United States while at the same time giving them the opportunity of helping their families, perhaps for the first time. Thus, the greatest natural resources of the United States, its citizens, were conserved through the CCC.

Despite occasional problems, the CCC was too popular for much criticism. The CCC was an excellent means for politicians to advance their standing in the eyes of their constituents. Securing camp sites in the politician's district enhanced his reputation. Most politicians contacted Director Fechner directly, usually enclosing requests from local citizens who wanted a camp in their area. Both Democrats and Republicans took advantage of this method of increasing their popularity and impressing their districts with evidence of their political clout when a camp site was obtained. Democrats and Republicans argued about who had the most supervisory jobs within the CCC, but both parties were able to fill supervisory positions demanding no special skills by giving the jobs to their friends as political favors. Lists were prepared by Congressmen, and the supervisory positions were filled from that list. Most of the individuals chosen for the positions were well qualified. Congressmen were, as a rule, very supportive of the CCC program not only because of their personal gain but also because of the good the program was accomplishing, both to communities and to the country as a whole.⁵⁷

⁵⁶Byrne, p. 87.

⁵⁷Salmond, p. 104-107.

Unfortunately, few follow up records were kept from discharged enrollees. No accurate records were kept of jobs obtained. However, the intangible success was very clearly expressed by John Salmond when he pointed out that there was a common denominator among the benefits the CCC enrollees considered important. That common denominator was the fact that "enlistment in the CCC had been the final act, the culmination of a long period of despair and helplessness. It proved also to be a turning point."⁵⁸

If, indeed, enrollment in the CCC, both in Augusta County and nationwide, was a turning point in the lives of the young CCC enrollees, then Roosevelt achieved his objective. Not only were the natural resources of the United States conserved, but thousands of young men on the very edge of despair and helplessness were given renewed hope and faith in the American way of life. Their physical lives were improved by the strenuous lifestyle of the CCC Camps. The allotments that were sent home allowed many families to achieve marginal financial security so that they could be removed from relief rolls. The allotments of \$25 helped to support approximately one million people.⁵⁹

It was difficult to summarize the achievements of a program which had both tangible and intangible results. The CCC was the most popular program of the New Deal during the nine years of its existence, criticisms notwithstanding. To paraphrase one of the workers in the very first camp at Luray, Virginia, the program was not a hand-out because the men worked for what they got, but the program gave hope in a time of despair.⁶⁰

⁵⁸Salmond, p. 131.

⁵⁹Lindley, p. 104.

⁶⁰Satterthwaite, p. 18.

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Index to Death Notices in the Staunton Spectator 1879

Anne C. Kidd

Most death notices found in these four-page weekly newspapers are on pages 2 and 3. All towns and counties without state designations were located in Virginia. Papers were published on Tuesday.

Name of Deceased Person	Date of Death	Place of Death	Date of Paper
Aiken, Samuel C., Rev.	last Wednesday	Cleveland, Ohio	7 Jan 1879
Armentrout, Thomas	14 Dec 1878	nr Greenville	14 Jan
Arbuckle, John	Tuesday	Botetourt Co.	28 Jan
Arnold, Mr.	Tuesday	Johnsville, Mississippi	25 Feb
Accord, Andrew B.	1879	Benton Co., Arkansas	11 Mar
Ayres, Hannah M., Mrs.	20 Feb 1879	Rockbridge Co.	11 Mar
Alston, Robert A., Col.	Tuesday	Atlanta, Georgia	18 Mar
Adams, James	18 Apr 1879	Faquier Co.	22 Apr & 6 May
Ames, Bishop	Friday	Baltimore, Maryland	29 Apr
Andrews, Henry T.	Friday	Orange Co., North Carolina	20 May
Armentrout, G. S.	10 May 1879	nr Cedar Grove Mills	20 May
Ackley, Henry	Saturday	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	3 Jun
Aby, B., Mrs.	1 Jun 1879	Frederick Co.	10 Jun
Alexander, Mr.	Thursday	nr Greenville	17 Jun
Anderson, R. H., Gen., age 64			1 Jul
Allen, Wm., Ex-Governor of Ohio	11 Jul 1879	nr Chilecothe, Ohio	15 Jul
Adams, Benj.	Saturday	Memphis, Tennessee	5 Aug
Athy, daughter of Chief of Police	Saturday	Raleigh, Tennessee	5 Aug
Adams, Bettie J.	7 Aug 1879	on Mossy Creek	9 Sep
Abney, Nancy	27 Aug 1879	nr Mint Spring	9 Sep
Achord, Zeddie, Mrs.	13 May 1879	nr Mint Spring	9 Sep
Achord, Jno.	3 Sep	nr Mint Spring	9 Sep
Anderson, John T., Col	last week	Botetourt Co.	16 Sep
Almarode, Sarah, Mrs.	2 Sep 1897	nr Summerdean	16 Sep
Allemong, Irene	7 Sep 1879	Augusta Co.	16 Sep
Armentrout, John	last week		23 Sep
Alexander, Wm. D., Col.	Tuesday	Griffin, Georgia	18 Nov
Adams, James, Mrs.	Saturday	Lancaster Co., North Carolina	18 Nov

Adams, children of Mrs. James	Saturday	Lancaster Co., North Carolina	18 Nov
Ament, Joseph Pettis	Yesterday	Iowa	18 Nov
Abraham, Jno. D., Esq.	12 Nov	Rockbridge Co.	18 Nov
Alther, John	7 Nov	Luray, Virginia	25 Nov
Akers, son of John	Wednesday	Madison Co.	2 Dec
Ashcraft, J. W., Rev.		Texas	30 Dec
Byerly, Dan'l	27 Dec 1878	nr Mt. Meridian	14 Jan
Batcheller, Mary A., Mrs.	24 Dec 1878	Alexandria	14 Jan
Barley, Jacob	11 Jan 1879	Rockingham Co.	21 Jan
Bosserman, Amanda H.	15 Jan 1879	Rockbridge Co.	28 Jan
Brown, Joseph W.	Wednesday	nr Indianapolis, Indiana	4 Feb
Butler, Willoughby G.	Tuesday	Portsmouth	11 Feb
Beaver, Bertie	Thursday	nr Altoona, Pennsylvania	11 Feb
Bagley, Peter	Tuesday	Kansas City, Missouri	18 Feb
Blackburn, Mary, Mrs.	Friday	Staunton	18 Feb
Bostorff, Jesse	Sunday	nr York, Pennsylvania	25 Feb
Bradshaw, John	Monday	on Bull Pasture River	25 Feb
Ball, Wm. E.	Sunday	nr Hinton, West Virginia	25 Feb
Brand, Mattie L.	22 Jan 1879	Augusta Co.	25 Feb
Bell, Emeline L., Mrs.	14 Feb 1879	Locust Grove	25 Feb
Buchanan, Christian K., Mrs.	2 Mar 1879	Lexington	11 Mar
Bragg, Mary	6 Mar 1879	Staunton	11 Mar
Bowman, Jno., Capt.	20 Jun 1780		18 Mar
Burritt, Elihu	recently	New Britain, Connecticut	18 Mar
Barger, John H.	Saturday	Summers Co., West Virginia	18 Mar
Booz, Worster		Charleston, West Virginia	18 Mar
Brewer, Henry	29 Mar 1879	nr Harrisonburg, Rockingham Co.	1 Apr
Bolinger, Wm.	24 Mar 1879	Monroe Co., West Virginia	1 Apr
Bridge, William C.	22 Mar 1879	nr Sherando	1 Apr
Bridge, Mildred, Mrs.	23 Mar 1879	nr Sherando	1 Apr
Brown, Charles, Dr.	Wednesday	Albemarle Co	8 Apr
Bear, Wesley	6 Apr	Page Co.	15 Apr
Brooke, Mary, Mrs	Friday	Fauquier Co.	22 Apr
Bishop, Sam., Mrs.	Tuesday	Scott Co.	29 Apr
Baker, Francis M., Rev.	Friday	Richmond	29 Apr
Brown, Nancy, Mrs.	8 Apr	nr Folly Mills	29 Apr
Brown, George	Wednesday	Norfolk Co.	6 ay
Bailey, A.	Tuesday	Richmond	6 ay
Brady, Thomas K.	Friday	Albemarle Co.	20 ay
Boas, rs.	onday		27 ay
Bell, J. Wayt	23 ay 1879	nr Staunton	27 ay
Birdie, Christian	Wednesday	nr Abingdon	3 Jun
Bell, J., rs.	25 ay 1879	nr Steele's Tavern	3 Jun
Baldwin, rs. Dr.	Friday	Staunton	24 Jun

Brubeck, Susana, rs.	23 Jun 1879	Staunton	1 Jul
Byron, ark	Friday	Reading, Pennsylvania	8 Jul
Bolling, Lou, Miss	Thursday	Richmond	8 Jul
Ball, Annie Addison		Sitka, Alaska	15 Jul
Brown, John	29 Jul	nr Lynchburg	5 Aug
Brady, Alexander	Saturday	Brooklyn, New York	5 Aug
Burton, Isabella	Friday	Staunton	5 Aug
Buchanan, Montgomery, Mrs.	last week	nr Fairfield	12 Aug
Braxton, John S., Maj.	Saturday	Norfolk	12 Aug
Beard, Mary, Mrs.	10 Aug 1879	nr Sangersville	19 Aug
Burke, Emma	20 Aug 1879	Covington, Alleghany Co.	26 Aug
Bruffey, Samuel M.	Thursday	Charlottesville	26 Aug
Blackburn, William, Mrs.	27 Aug 1879	Staunton	2 Sep
Boarman, Charles, Admiral	13 Sep 1879	Martinsburg, West Virginia	16 Sep
Bond, Lucy, Mrs.	12 Sep 1879		16 Sep
Bryan, Maggie, Mrs.	12 Sep 1879	Sangersville	23 Sep
Blackburn, David R.	30 Sep 1879	Staunton	7 Oct
Beaver, William, Mrs.	Wednesday	Louisa Co.	14 Oct
Brown, Lou	last week	Washington Co.	14 Oct
Brenneman, George	9 Oct 1879	nr New Hope	21 Oct
Boswell, Jane Ann, Mrs.	5 Oct 1879	nr Craigsville	21 Oct
Bull, B. C., General	Monday	Kansas	28 Oct
Bricknell, Robert	Monday	Kansas	28 Oct
Burgess, Fanny F.	recently	Frankford, Ohio	4 Nov
Buell	Friday	Cooperstown, New York	18 Nov
Boyd, Susan	Tuesday	Abingdon	18 Nov
Baldwin, Robert, F., Dr.	14 Nov 1879	Staunton	18 Nov
Burruss, C. W.	1 Nov 1879	Variety Springs	18 Nov
Bell, W.J. D.	22 Nov 1879	nr Staunton	25 Nov
Brown, John A., Dr.	Monday	Bellefontaine, Ohio	2 Dec
Brown, Myron E.	Thursday	Buffalo, New York	2 Dec
Berkeley, Carter S., Dr	yesterday	Staunton	9 Dec
Baxter, Sidney S., Hon.	Sunday	Tazewell Co.	16 Dec
Burk, James	8 Dec 1879	Alleghany Co.	16 Dec
Brown, William	8 Dec 1879	nr Coal Valley, West Virginia	23 Dec
Brand, David M.	11 Dec 1879	Roanoke Co.	23 Dec
Brown, Lewis	6 Dec 1879	Rockbridge Co.	30 Dec
Coale, Charles B.	Friday	Washington Co.	7 Jan
Carter, Dale		Russell Co.	7 Jan
Crawford, Benjamin, Esq.	Thursday	Staunton	7 Jan
Chase, Nancy, Mrs.	1 Jan 1879	Winchester	14 Jan
Carter, Edwin		Fredericksburg	21 Jan
Crummet, John	10 Jan 1879	Highland Co.	21 Jan
Camp, Albert G.	Wednesday	Lynchburg	11 Feb
Caldwell, Mark R., Dr.	Wednesday	Lewisburg, West Virginia	11 Feb
Cole, Archer, Col.	recently	Florida	18 Feb

Casey, Thomas	Tuesday	Kansas City, Missouri	18 Feb
Camp, Andrew J.	Tuesday	Lynchburg	25 Feb
Chilton, R. H., Gen.	Monday	Columbus, Georgia	25 Feb
Curtis, Charles C.	3 Mar 1879	Richmond	18 Mar
Clemmer, Delia Irene	21 Feb 1879		25 Mar
Clark, Joseph	7 Mar 1879	Pocahontas Co., West Virginia	1 Apr
Compton, Ezra	January last	Newport, Indiana	8 Apr
Critzer, Anna	4 Apr	Staunton	8 Apr
Calwell, Lewis	Thursday	Greenbrier Co., West Virginia	29 Apr
Clarke, Rust, Hon.	Monday		6 May
Curd, child of Wm. H.	Tuesday	Botetourt Co.	13 May
Carlton, Lewis	Friday	Orange Co., North Carolina	20 May
Chapman, Mary L.	Friday	Staunton	3 Jun
Carson, Margaret, Mrs.	1 Jun 1879	Augusta Co.	10 Jun
Cunningham, Lee	Saturday	Pittsylvania Co.	24 Jun
Callison, Mary, Mrs.	11 Jun 1879	Staunton	24 Jun
Coleman, Ellen	Spring 1879	Louisa Co.	1 Jul
Cooper, Mr.	Sunday	Kanawha River, West Virginia	1 Jul
Cooke, Newton M.	Wednesday	Pittsylvania Co.	1 Jul
Carter, Fannie, Mrs.	28 Jun 1879	nr Barterbrook	1 Jul
Crutchfield, Harry W.	Wednesday	New York	8 Jul
Clark, Alexander, Rev. Dr.	few days ago	Atlanta, Georgia	15 Jul
Chamberlaine, Richard H.	23 Jul	Norfolk	29 Jul
Carpenter, Mrs.	9 Jul 1879	Page Co.	19 Aug
Coiner, Samuel	16 Aug 1879	Monroe Co., West Virginia	2 Sep
Cotton, Susan, Mrs.	11 Sep	Staunton	16 Sep
Christmas, Charles	18 Sep 1879	Warrenton, North Carolina	23 Sep
Coleman, Maud Minor	4 Oct 1879	Fauquier Co.	14 Oct
Chandler, Zachariah, Senator	Saturday	Chicago, Illinois	4 Nov
Clark, Cornelia W.	22 Oct 1879	Rockbridge Co.	11 Nov
Coles, daughter of Peyton	Friday	Albemarle Co.	11 Nov
Cosner, Daniel	Wednesday	Grant Co., West Virginia	18 Nov
Crockett, Samuel R.	Saturday	Wythe Co.	18 Nov
Cantrell, O. C.	Sunday	Goochland Co.	18 Nov
Cole, a deputy sheriff	last week	Robeson Co., North Carolina	2 Dec
Caricoffe, L.A., Mrs.	recently	Highland Co.	2 Dec
Canfield, Ira C.	Saturday	Baltimore, Maryland	9 Dec
Carroll, Annie	Saturday		9 Dec
Crank, Wm. J.	few weeks	Bedford Co.	16 Dec
Cullers, A. J.	Thursday	Shenandoah Co.	16 Dec
Dupriest, Malachi	Christmas Eve '78	Nottaway Co.	7 Jan
Dinges, Lizzie, Mrs.	15 Jan 1879	Mt. Crawford	28 Jan
Dixon, Thos.	Friday	Louisville, Kentucky	4 Feb
Dyer, John, Mrs.	week ago	nr Fort Wayne, Indiana	11 Feb
Drake, Jonathan	Sunday	Jackson Co., Missouri	11 Feb

Dana, Richard Henry	Sunday	Boston, Massachusetts	11 Feb
Dudley, Nancy, Mrs.	Saturday	Churchville	18 Feb
Deacon, wife of	5 Feb 1879	Page Co.	18 Feb
Rev. Israel R.			
Daggy, Frances	13 Mar 1879	Bath Co.	25 Feb
DeKoven, James, D.D.	Wednesday	College of Racine, Wisconsin	1 Apr
Doom, Mary, Mrs.	5 Apr 1879	Staunton	8 Apr
Davis, Shelton C., Col.	Monday	Richmond	15 Apr
Dickinson, daughter of	Friday	Spottsylvania Co.	15 Apr
William C.			
Dix, John A., Gen.	Monday	New York City	29 Apr
Dundore, E. A., Mrs.	26 Apr 1879	Staunton	29 Apr
Davis, Tabitha, Mrs.	5 May 1879	Greenbrier Co., West Virginia	13 May
Davis, Henry Alphonso	Friday	Orange Co., North Carolina	20 May
Dulany, Amelia R., Mrs.	30 Apr 1879	Baltimore, Maryland	20 May
Danner, J.W.	last week	Shenandoah Co.	27 May
Danner, S. A.	last week	Shenandoah Co.	27 May
Donaghe, Mary Briscoe,	28 Jun 1879	Harrisonburg	1 Jul
Mrs.			
Dunbar, Jessie, Miss	Saturday	Matteawan, New York	8 Jul
Defoor, Martin	Friday	nr Atlanta, Georgia	29 Jul
Defoor, Martin, Mrs.	Friday	nr Atlanta, Georgia	29 Jul
Dunn, Maria, Mrs.	18 Jul 1879	nr Lewisburg, West Virginia	29 Jul
Dodson, Daniel, Capt.	30 Jul 1879	Petersburg	5 Aug
Doom, Madison	Tuesday	Staunton	5 Aug
Davidson, John S., Dr.	5 Aug 1879	Montgomery Co.	12 Aug
Dunlap, Wm.	8 Aug 1879	on Kerr's Creek	19 Aug
Dowdy, young woman	Wednesday	Staunton	19 Aug
Donaghe, Briscoe	Wednesday	Staunton	16 Sep
Baldwin, Dr.			
Dickey, Lillie	Friday week	Minneapolis, Minnesota	4 Nov
Davis, Bill	Thursday	Lockport, Tennessee	4 Nov
Drew, Nancy	6 Nov 1879	Suffolk Co.	4 Nov
Drews, Charles	Friday	Lebanon, Pennsylvania	18 Nov
Dickason, Jacob	18 Nov 1879	Monroe Co., West Virginia	9 Dec
Eberly, P. F., Mr.,	Thursday	Strasburg	28 Jan
drum major of 136th Regiment of VA Militia			
Elick, Mrs.	last week	Shenandoah Co.	11 Feb
England, John	last week		18 Feb
Engelhardt, Joseph A.,	Saturday	Raleigh, North Carolina	18 Feb
Hon.			
Evans, Geo.	Tuesday	Alabama	25 Feb
Edwards, wife of	15 Mar 1879	Summers Co., West Virginia	25 Mar
Eastman, Mattie, Mrs.	14 Jun 1879	Augusta Co.	17 Jun
Edmonds, Alice T., Mrs.	lately	Warrenton	16 Sep
Edgerly, Geo.	recently	Memphis, Tennessee	16 Sep
Edmonds, T. R., Prof.	Thursday	Hill Top	16 Sep

East, Alexander	Saturday	Lynchburg	30 Sep
Ferguson, A. P., Mr.	recently	Stockton, California	7 Jan
Fugitt, daughter of Jerry	last week	Berkeley Co., West Virginia	21 Jan
Frank, Susan, Mrs.	22 Dec 1878	nr Cowan's Station	21 Jan
Finks, John W.	last week	Fauquier Co.	11 Feb
Farley, Geo. W.	16 Mar 1879	Summers Co., West Virginia	25 Mar
Fletcher, Richard P.	21 Mar 1879	Harrisonburg	1 Apr
Fifer, Joseph	28 Mar 1879	at Leyburn Mills	8 Apr
Finley, Rebecca	last week	Staunton	8 Apr
Funk, Sally, Mrs.	25 Mar 1879	nr Singer's Glen	15 Apr
Fulton, Lizzie, Mrs.	Thursday	Wheeling, West Virginia	22 Apr
Forster, James	14 Apr 1879	Warren Co.	22 Apr & 29 Jul
Fauber, Elizabeth, Mrs.	7 Apr 1879	nr Waynesboro	29 Apr
Fifer, Mary A., Mrs.	20 Apr 1879	Mt. Crawford	29 Apr
Floyd, John B., Mrs.	Wednesday	Abingdon	13 May
Fletcher, Mary, Mrs.	Friday	Rockingham Co.	20 May
Fauber, Joseph	13 May 1879	nr Waynesboro	20 May
Fulwider, Wm.	last week	Dutch Hollow, Augusta Co.	17 Jun
Foley, daughter of Wm. H.	22 Jun 1879	Staunton	1 Jul
Furgerson, Kinder	recently	Scott Co.	26 Aug
Few, Hattie Howard	17 Aug 1879	Woodstock	26 Aug
Fauber, Catharine, Mrs.	12 Sep 1879	Rockingham Co.	23 Sep
Field, Samuel	Friday	nr Boston on Richmond & Danville RR	7 Oct
Frame, Samuel, Sr.	4 Oct 1879	nr Spring Hill	14 Oct
Foster, son of Andrew	recently	Lick Creek, West Virginia	21 Oct
Ferrar, Joseph, Rev.	Sunday	Richmond	28 Oct
Fisher, Edward, Mrs.	6 Nov 1879	Richmond	11 Nov
Finchen, child of Mrs.	1 Dec 1879	Rockingham Co.	16 Dec
Presley			
Fry, Frank	Monday	Lewisburg, West Virginia	23 Dec
Gatewood, John	last week	Missouri	4 Feb
Gorman, Patrick, Mrs.	last week	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	4 Feb
Glassell, Wm. T., Capt.	recently	Los Angeles, California	18 Feb
Gilmer, Wm. Wirt	Monday	Pittsylvania Co.	18 Feb
Graham, Wm. L., Capt.	2 Apr 1879	Lexington	8 Apr
Glover, Emma V. Miller	8 Feb 1879	Albemarle Co.	8 Apr
Griffin, Julia	Thursday	New York	6 May
Grossman, Jacob	Thursday	Campbell Co	20 May
Grymes, Helen E.	8 May 1879	Richmond	20 May
Garrison, Wm. Lloyd			3 Jun
Gladden, Elizabeth, Mrs.	5 May 1879	nr Mt. Crawford	3 Jun
Gilman, Mary, Mrs.	Tuesday	Washington, DC	8 Jul
Gordon, Max	20 Jul 1879	Norfolk Co.	29 Jul
Gregory, John	27 Jul 1879	nr Parnassus	5 & 26 Aug

Gregory, Dorcas, Mrs.	21 Aug 1879	nr Lewisburg, West Virginia	2 Sep
Gray, Emily	Friday	Harrisonburg	2 Sep
Gaenslen, John, Dr.	recently	San Antonio, Texas	16 Sep
Gentry, Mr.	last week	nr Sewell Station on C & O RR	14 Oct
Grayson, Andrew, Mrs.	Sunday	Page Co.	21 Oct
Gray, George L.	11 Oct 1879	Middlebrook	21 Oct
Gales, S. Juliana M., Mrs.	15 Oct 1879	"Eckington"	28 Oct
Gordon, Laura	recently	Richmond	25 Nov
Gillespie, John	recently	Amherst Co.	25 Nov
Grimm, Henry	Sunday	Winchester	9 Dec
Gentry, Patrick H.	5 Dec	Richmond	9 Dec
Grove, John A.	16 Dec 1879	Sanford, Florida	30 Dec
Garber, A.M. "Sandy", Maj.	20 Dec 1879	Dallas, Texas	30 Dec
Haines, Sarah	Wednesday	Culpeper Co.	7 Jan
Haugh, John	10 Dec 1878	Rockingham Co.	7 Jan
Houston, John D.	1 Jan 1879	Rockbridge Co.	7 Jan
Hoff, H. K., Admiral	Wednesday	Washington, DC	7 Jan
Harris, Willie	6 Jan 1879	nr Fishersville	21 Jan
Halyburton, James	Sunday	Richmond	28 Jan
Dandridge, Judge			
Hall, Henry	Wednesday week	Queen Anne's Co., Maryland	28 Jan
Hardy, Martha A., Mrs.	yesterday	Staunton	28 Jan
Holtzclaw, Howard	Thursday	nr Warrenton	11 Feb & 1 Apr
Hensley (male)	recently	Mitchel Co., North Carolina	11 Feb
Harper, James	26 Jan 1879	Fairfield, North Carolina	11 Feb
Hagen, James	Tuesday	Kansas City, Missouri	18 Feb
Hines, Ed	Tuesday	Kansas City, Missouri	18 Feb
Heth, Robert	Sunday	Albemarle Co.	18 Feb
Henkle, child of Mr. M.	February	Pendleton Co., West Virginia	18 Feb
Hill, Lucy T., Mrs.	Friday	Albemarle Co.	18 Feb
Horn, Mrs.	Friday	New York City	25 Feb
Hunter, N. Y.	Tuesday	Alabama	25 Feb
Haggerty, M. C. (male)	Wednesday	Dutch Gap on James River	11 Mar
Hall, Mr.	Wednesday	Dutch Gap on James River	11 Mar
Henkel, Hugh McGuffin	Saturday		11 Mar
Hedrick, Jacob F.	18 Feb 1879	nr Taylor Springs	11 Mar
Hurley, Mary, Mrs.	Thursday	nr Harrisonburg	18 Mar
Hawpe, Mary Harriet	1 Mar 1879	nr Greenville	25 Mar
Hawver, John A., Capt.	18 Mar 1879	Greenbrier Co., West Virginia	25 Mar
Hough, Jno., Rev.	Thursday	Trenton, New Jersey	1 Apr
Howard, Bill	Tuesday	Fort Scott, Kansas	1 Apr
Hite, Thos. S.	22 Mar 1879	Bridgewater	1 Apr
Hart, Eliza J., Mrs.	23 Mar 1879	Sullivan Co., Missouri	8 Apr
Hare, Thomas	Saturday	Richmond	15 Apr

Hart, Andrew, Rev.	23/24 Apr 1879	Botetourt Co.	6 May
Hale, Sarah J., Mrs.	Wednesday	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	6 May
Heiskell, Sarah Ann	12 Apr 1879	Romney, West Virginia	6 May
Harris, Bernice S., Mrs.	18 Apr 1879	Frederick Co.	6 May
Hieskell, Nancy D., Mrs.	26 Apr 1879	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	13 May
Harris, Mr.	few days ago	Fishersville	13 May
Humphries, Mary Alice, Mrs.	Thursday	Charleston, West Virginia	20 May
Hilbert, son of Zachariah	Friday	Rockingham Co.	3 Jun
Henritze, James	Thursday	Abingdon	3 Jun
Higginbotham, S. G.	last week	Southwest Virginia	24 Jun
Hoge, Bessie	18 Jun	Richmond	24 Jun
Hayes, Zachariah	Jun 1879	Roanoke	1 Jul
Hall, Irving	Saturday	Buffalo, New York	22 Jul
Hogan, Charles	Saturday	Petersburg	5 Aug
Hipperd, Ellen	27 Jul 1879	nr Waynesboro	5 Aug
Harper, Rachel A.	3 Aug 1879	Rockbridge Co.	26 Aug
Harris, Charles	Friday	Montague, Texas	2 Sep
Hood, John B., Gen.	Saturday	New Orleans, Louisiana	2 Sep
Hood, Lydia	Saturday	New Orleans, Louisiana	2 Sep
Hanger, Flossy Goyer	Saturday	Staunton	9 Sep
Hurt, daughter of Wm.	31 Aug 1879	Page Co.	16 Sep
Haines, Jonathan	yesterday	Winchester	16 Sep
Haruff, Hettie P.	5 Aug 1879	Staunton	16 Sep & 28 Oct
Hoshour, Peter	15 Sep 1879	Woodstock	23 Sep
Howe, Mrs.	14 Sep 1879	Rockingham Co.	23 Sep
Harvey, Frederick	Sunday	Greenbrier Co., West Virginia	30 Sep
Hilliard, Margaret, Mrs.	1 Oct 1879	Winchester	14 Oct
Hames, Manley R.	3 Oct 1879	Baltimore Co., Maryland	14 Oct
Henkel, Siram, P.	17 Oct 1879	Rockingham Co.	28 Oct
Hooker, Joseph, Major-General	last Friday	Garden City, Long Island, New York	4 Nov
Hinton, George	1 Nov 1879	Petersburg	4 Nov
Hudspett, Dolly	20 Oct 1878		11 Nov
Hill, Hiram	20 Nov 1879	Fayette Co., West Virginia	2 Dec
Holliday, J. McKim, Mrs.	28 Nov 1879	Winchester	2 Dec
Harrison, Elizabeth, Mrs.	11 Nov 1879	nr Christian's Creek, Augusta Co.	2 Dec
Harper, Nannie	30 Nov 1879	Mt. Sidney	2 Dec
Hayne, Emily, Mrs.	10 Dec 1879	nr Augusta, Georgia	30 Dec
Hampton, Wade, Jr., Major	Monday	Washington Co., Missouri	30 Dec
Hampton, Thos., Capt.	1864	Burgess's Mill nr Petersburg	30 Dec
Jones, Decatur H., Mr.	21 Jan 1879	Highland Co.	29 Jan
Johnson, W.W.	Saturday week	Culpeper Co.	4 Feb

Jordan, Frances Echols, Mrs.	28 Feb 1879	Rockbridge Co.	11 Mar
Johnson, Robert	5 Apr 1879	Staunton	8 Apr
James, Isaac D.	Wednesday	Baltimore, Maryland	22 Apr
Jackman, C. A., Dr.	Wednesday	Staunton	22 Apr
Jenkins, Laura	Sunday	Huntingdon, West Virginia	20 May
Johnston, Annie E.	few days ago	Davenport, Iowa	15 Jul
Jacques, B. R. W.	Tuesday	City Point	22 Jul
Johnson, James	few days ago	nr Midway	9 Sep
Knupp, Margaret, Mrs.	28 Dec 1878	Rockingham Co.	21 Jan
Koiner, Clarence	7 Jan 1879		21 Jan
Kepler, Henry	Friday	Louisville, Kentucky	4 Feb
Kipps, Eva	16 Feb 1879	nr New Market	25 Feb
Keyes, Wade, Judge	Monday	Montgomery, Alabama	11 Mar
Kelling, Mary	Tuesday	Lonaconing, Maryland	25 Mar
Key, Geo.	13 Mar 1879	Rockingham Co.	25 Mar
Kisling, Geo. J., Capt.	Monday	Harrisonburg	1 Apr
Kelley, Thomas	Wednesday	Brooklyn, New York	6 May
Kelsey, W. H., Hon.	Sunday	Genesee, New York	6 May
Kagey, Henry N.	25 May 1879	Shenandoah Co.	3 Jun
King, Philip	Sunday	Baltimore, Maryland	24 Jun
Kemmler, Annie	Saturday	South Holyoke, Massachusetts	24 Jun
Kemmler, Ludmiller	Saturday	South Holyoke, Massachusetts	24 Jun
Kemmler, Amy	Saturday	South Holyoke, Massachusetts	24 Jun
Kibler, Abram	26 Jun 1879	Shepherdstown, West Virginia	8 Jul
Kelly, Elizabeth, Mrs.	21 Jul 1879	Monroe Co., West Virginia	29 Jul
Kiracofe, Emma Jane	19 Jul 1879	Sangersville	29 Jul
Kidd, Lewis	29 Jul 1879	nr Lynchburg	5 Aug
Kemper, Margaret E.	21 Jul 1879	Augusta Co.	12 Aug
Koiner, Webb	last week		9 Sep
Kyle, St. Clair	13 Sep 1879	Bridgewater	23 Sep
Kidd, Norah	Saturday	Nelson Co.	18 Nov
Keaton, 4 children of Jacob	Monday	Pender Co., North Carolina	2 Dec
Karicoffe, Lewis, Mrs.	21 Nov 1879	Highland Co.	2 Dec
Kahle, Sally, Mrs.	1 Dec 1879	Lexington	16 Dec
Knox, W. R., Capt.	17 Dec 1879	Birmingham, Alabama	30 Dec
Lewis, "Capt. Tom"	3 Jan 1879	Albemarle Co.	14 Jan
Lucas, Jacob, Mrs.	Monday	Mt. Jackson	21 Jan
Leedy, Polly	16 Jan 1879	Dayton	28 Jan
Lally, Mary	Sunday	Boston, Massachusetts	28 Jan
Lacy, John S.	Friday	nr Richmond & York River RR	28 Jan
Largeut (male)	January 1879	Morgan Co., West Virginia	28 Jan

Lewis, Rosa	Tuesday	Easton, Pennsylvania	4 Feb
Liggett, Philip, Mrs.	Sunday	Harrisonburg	4 Feb
Lackland, Wm. M.	Sunday		18 Feb
Lucitt, Dan	Tuesday	Kansas City, Missouri	18 Feb
Lowry, Dr.	Tuesday	Johnsville, Mississippi	25 Feb
Lee, Rebecca, Mrs.	last week	Pocahontas Co., West Virginia	4 Mar
Lucias, Cora Jackson	7 Mar 1879	Fauquier Co.	18 Mar
Life, Margaret, Mrs.	22 Mar 1879	nr Waynesboro	1 Apr
Lewis, Sallie	22 Mar 1879	Bath Co.	1 Apr
Lohr, Mary Magdaline	20 Mar 1879	Rockingham Co.	1 Apr
Lightner, Ann, Mrs.	14 Apr 1879		15 Apr
Luffield, S. B.	7 May 1879	Jersey City Height	13 May
Lipps, Letitia	4 May 1879	Greenbrier Co., West Virginia	13 May
Landes, son of Jas.	Friday	Rockingham Co.	27 May
Leggett, Shelby	Tuesday	Hagerstown, Maryland	24 Jun
Link, William	Saturday	nr Mt. Sidney	24 Jun
Langhorne, Norvell	Saturday	nr Wytheville	1 Jul
Lanham, Thomas J.	Saturday	Poca River	1 Jul
Largue, John	28 Jun 1879	Alleghany Co.	1 Jul
Lily, Mary, Mrs.	29 Jun 1879	Long Glade, Augusta Co.	1 Jul
Link, Peter	29 Jul 1879	Long Glade, Augusta Co.	1 Jul
Lushbaugh, Fannie, Mrs.	Tuesday		8 Jul
Lee, Mart	Wednesday	West Virginia	15 Jul
Lupton, Isaac Briscoe	16 Aug 1879	Harrisonburg	26 Aug
Long, George, Prof.	Wednesday	London, England	26 Aug
Liptrap, Lillie H.	recently	nr West View	2 Sep
Letcher, Charlotte, Mrs.	29 Oct 1879	Frankfort, Kentucky	11 Nov
Leyburn, E. M., Mrs.	10 Oct 1879	Louisville, Kentucky	28 Oct
Ledbetter, John	25 Feb 1879		18 Nov
Leese, Chas.	Saturday	Hagerstown, Maryland	18 Nov
Layne, Joseph	25 Nov 1879	Highland Co.	2 Dec
Lay, A. M., Congressman	Monday	Washington, DC	16 Dec
Lilley, R. D., Dr.	recently	Hillsboro, Ohio	16 Dec
McNamara, Peter	few days ago	Washington, DC	7 Jan
Martin, Dollie Ann	Thursday	Petersburg	28 Jan
Mayo, M. M. (male)	Wednesday	Henrico Co.	28 Jan
Mayo, Adeline, Mrs.	18 Jan 1879	Elizabeth, New Jersey	28 Jan
McChesney, Mary B., Mrs.	26 Jan 1879	Augusta Co.	28 Jan
Martin, Wallace	January	Lexington	4 Feb
Miller, Samuel, Mrs.	Tuesday	Rockingham Co.	11 Feb
Moss, Wm.	Tuesday	Petersburg	25 Feb
McCue, Elizabeth S., Mrs.	9 Feb 1879	Mayersville, Mississippi	25 Feb
McDowell, John	25 Dec 1742	Lexington	18 Mar
MackDowell, John	Dec 1743	Rockbridge Co.	18 Mar
McDowell, James	around 1770		18 Mar
McDowell, Charles, Gen.	31 Mar 1815		18 Mar

Meigs, John R., Lieut.		nr Dayton	18 Mar
Maybush, Tommy	17 Mar 1879		25 Mar
McAlear, Robert Emmett	18 Mar 1879	Lexington	25 Mar
McChesney, Eveline, Mrs.	23 Feb 1879	Texas	25 Mar
Martin, Knox	Friday	Nashville, Tennessee	1 Apr
Meade, Mary	Thursday	Clarke Co.	1 Apr
Mauck, Joseph	24 Mar 1879	Page Co.	1 Apr
Mooney, John	Saturday	Kanawha Co., West Virginia	29 Apr
Metz, George	18 Apr 1879	Roanoke Co.	29 Apr
Mahoney, Thomas	16 Apr 1879	Staunton	29 Apr
Moore, Robert	18 Apr 1879	Staunton	29 Apr
Moore, Martha J., Mrs.	7 May 1879	Rockbridge Co.	20 May
Martz, Mary M.	6 May 1879	Rockingham Co.	20 May
Maynard, George		California	27 May
Michael, Mary		Highland Co.	3 Jun
Michael, son of Mr.		Highland Co.	3 Jun
Mosely, Sam.	Tuesday	nr Atkinson's Cut, West Virginia	17 Jun
McLaughlin, Dennis, Rev.	12 Jun 1879	Summers Co., West Virginia	24 Jun
Miller, Susan, Mrs.	16 Jun 1879	Harrisonburg	1 Jul
Maupin, Robert	Saturday	Bedford Co.	8 Jul
McAbee, Wm.	few days ago	Fauquier Co.	8 Jul
McCulloch, John S., Capt.	25 Jun 1879	Ellis, Texas	15 Jul
Mallon, Joseph	yesterday	Staunton	22 Jul
Murray, Frederick A.	15 Jul 1879	nr Waynesboro	22 Jul
McCue, Martha J., Mrs. J.M.	15 Jul 1879	Nelson Co.	29 Jul & 5 Aug
Miller, Samuel L.	25 Jul 1879	Edwardsville, Illinois	5 Aug
Menefee, son of Hanson	Sunday	Page Co.	19 Jul
McChesney, Zachariah	Friday	on South River	2 Sep
Miller, Martha J., Mrs.	2 Sep 1879	Mt. Crawford	9 Sep
Marr, Catharine Inman, Mrs.	Saturday	Warrenton	16 Sep
McCoy, Charles D., Capt.	Thursday	Staunton	16 Sep
Mitchell, Thomas N., Esq.	August	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	16 Sep
Morton, James A.	16 Sep 1879	Staunton	23 Sep
McDaniel, Jacob, Mrs.	1 Oct 1879	Shenandoah Co.	7 Oct
McClung, James G.	7 Oct 1879	Rockbridge Co.	14 Oct
Mauzy, Wm. A.	21 Oct 1879	Rockingham Co.	21 Oct
Miller, Henry	Thursday	edge of Portsmouth	4 Nov
Minor, Peter Carr	Friday	Henrico Co.	4 Nov
Morrison, Edwin A., Dr.	Thursday	Brunswick Co.	4 Nov
Mattie, daughter of Chauf, Chief of Cherokees of Arkansas Nation	Friday	Richmond	4 Nov
Meigs, Jas. Aitken, Prof.	Sunday	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	18 May
Meadows, Judson	Saturday	Monroe Co., Pennsylvania	25 May
Merritt, John D.	Saturday	Weldon, North Carolina	25 May
McQueen, George	30 Oct 1879	Nicholas Co., West Virginia	25 May

McQueen, Archibald	30 Oct 1879	Nicholas Co., West Virginia	25 May
McQueen, Mary	30 Oct 1879	Nicholas Co., West Virginia	25 May
McQueen, Annie	30 Oct 1879	Nicholas Co., West Virginia	25 May
Mathews, A. W., Mr.	Wednesday	Wytheville	2 Dec
McDowell, James, Dr.	19 Nov 1879	New York City	2 Dec
McNeer, Richard, Mrs.	23 Nov 1879	Monroe Co., West Virginia	2 Dec
Moore, Mrs.	Saturday		9 Dec
Mann, Martha H. D., Mrs.	19 Nov 1879	White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia	9 Dec
McCormick, Robt.	3 Dec 1879	nr Greenville	16 Dec
Michael, Sarah, Mrs.	6 Dec 1879	nr Stribling Springs	16 Dec
McClung, Wm. H.	30 Nov 1879	Greenbrier, West Virginia	16 Dec
Martin, Alexis, Dr.	Tuesday	Greenbrier Co., West Virginia	16 Dec
Myers, Geraldine, Mrs.	18 Dec 1879	Greenville	30 Dec
Murray, F. H., Mr.	22 Dec 1879	Harrisonburg	30 Dec
Nickerson, Mamie	Saturday	Staunton	14 Jan
Newcome, John H.	1879	Staunton	21 Jan
Nicely, Polly, Mrs.	25 Apr 1879	Rockbridge Co.	20 May
Norris, Charles	Tuesday	Washington Co., Maryland	10 Jun
Noonan, F. G., Mrs.	Sunday	Kansas City, Missouri	1 Jul
Nicholson, John J.	last week	Baltimore, Maryland	2 Sep
Nelson, John	Tuesday	Baltimore, Maryland	21 Oct
Nicholas, George	Monday	Kansas	28 Oct
Newton, John	Saturday week	Crawford Co., Arkansas	18 Nov
Noonan, daughter of Mr. B.	Friday		9 Dec
Nesmith, James Hall	9 Dec 1879	Lewisburg, West Virginia	16 Dec
Norwood, James, Mrs.	some months ago	Rockbridge Co.	30 Dec
Ocheltree, John W. H.	25 Dec 1878	Augusta Co.	7 Jan
O'Brien, John	25 Dec 1878	Ontario, Canada	7 Jan
O'Bannon, Leah J.	Sunday	Charleston, West Virginia	25 Feb
O'Connor, Maggie T.	23 Mar 1879		25 Mar
O'Ferrall, Annie E., Mrs.	8 May 1879	Harrisonburg	13 May
Oaksmith, daughter of Capt. Appleton	Friday	nr Beaufort, North Carolina	8 Jul
Overstreet, Myrtle	Friday	Bedford Co.	25 Nov
Oman, Wm.	Monday	nr Belton, West Virginia	2 Dec
Pratt, Wm. A., Capt	18 Jun 1879	nr Waynesboro	21 Jan
Priest, James, Dr.	21 Jan 1879	Franklin, West Virginia	28 Jan
Penick, R.A., Mrs.	Friday	nr South Boston	4 Feb
Plunket, Wm. McG.	1 Feb 1879	Staunton	4 Feb
Peake, Wm.	Monday	Manhattan, Kansas	11 Feb
Pendleton, G.H., Mr.	last week	Wythe Co.	11 Feb
Price, Geo. E., Capt.	14 Feb 1879	Staunton	18 & 25 Feb
Pollock, Mat.	Saturday	Bellefontaine, Ohio	25 Feb

Pearson, John W.	6 Feb 1879	Laurel Hill, Augusta Co.	25 Feb
Price, Mary A.	22 Mar 1879	Rockbridge Co.	1 Apr
Pearson, W.H., Mr.	15 Apr	nr Harrisonburg	1 Apr
Parsons, Tobias	Saturday	Berkely Co., West Virginia	6 May
Palmer, Anna, Mrs.	22 Sep 1788	Appanoos Co., Iowa	13 May
Powell, John	Friday	Albemarle Co.	13 May
Packer, Asa, Judge	Saturday	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	20 May
Parrent, Lillian	16 Jun 1879	residence of father Jacob	20 May
Potts, David	Tuesday	on Atlantic, Mississippi & Ohio RR	29 May
Powell, I. Webb	recently	Montana	3 Jun
Plitt, Wm. K.	20 Jun 1879	Staunton	24 Jun
Pfifferling, Frank	30 Jun 1879	Staunton	1 Jul
Payne, Mildred, Mrs.	23 Aug 1879	Harrisonburg	2 Sep
Prestidge, Charles	recently	Memphis, Tennessee	16 Sep
Perry, W.W.	30 Aug 1879	nr Cedar Grove	16 Sep
Paul, John	5 Oct 1879	Harrisonburg	14 Oct
Preston, Nettie	27 Oct 1879	nr Abingdon	4 Nov
Paul, Isaac	Tuesday	Harrisonburg	4 Nov
Pierce, Lovick, Dr.	Monday	Sparta, Georgia	18 Nov
Paul, Virginia	14 Nov 1879	Rockingham Co.	25 Nov
Pharr, Robert	Wednesday	Charlotte, North Carolina	23 Dec
Points, James W.	yesterday	Staunton	23 Dec
Quidor, John B.	Wednesday	Churchville	21 Jan
Quick, Wm. A., Squire	Sunday	Shenandoah Co.	2 Sep
Quick, Wm. A.	24 Aug 1879	Shenandoah Co.	14 Oct
Robinson, John, Mrs.	Tuesday	Cincinnati, Ohio	7 Jan
Roadcap, Mary Henrietta	1 Jan 1879	Harrisonburg	14 Jan
Robinson, E. C., Dr.	Saturday	Richmond	21 Jan
Rodes, Virginius H., Col.	few days since	Winona, Mississippi	28 Jan
Rhodes, Sarah, Mrs.	13 Jan 1879	nr Harrisonburg	28 Jan
Ridley, James	Friday	Louisville, Kentucky	4 Feb
Riley, Jas. G.	11 Dec 1878	Covington, Tennessee	4 Feb
Rive, Richard	Tuesday	Kansas City, Missouri	18 Feb
Reed, John	11 Feb 1879	Hickory Hill, Augusta Co.	18 Feb
Rubush, Mary P., Mrs.	16 Feb 1879	nr Mt. Sidney	11 Mar
Reese, Issac	Monday	Christiansburg Depot	25 Mar
Richards, Hugh Nelson	6 Mar 1879	Montague, Texas	25 Mar
Rodgers, John K.	Wednesday	Accomac Co.	15 Apr
Roller, Elizabeth, Mrs.	17 Apr 1879	Mt. Crawford	29 Apr
Rosser, Christiana, Mrs.	Sunday	Petersburg	6 May
Richwine, J. P.	Sunday	Salem	24 Jun
Ralston, David N.	Wednesday	Rockingham	24 Jun
Ricks, J. T.	Thursday	Merriwether, Georgia	1 Jul
Ruey, Elbridge	Wednesday	Tioga Co., New York	1 Jul
Radcliffe, Mary	Saturday	North Carolina	15 Jul

Ramsdell, Mr.	Tuesday	City Point	22 Jul
Rector, Wm.	Tuesday	Faquier Co.	22 Jul
Rosen, Kirby A.	30 Jul 1879	nr Arbor Hill	5 Aug
Rhodes, Nancy	2 Aug 1879	Staunton	5 Aug
Reynolds, W.B.	Tuesday	Merriweather, Georgia	12 Aug
Roller, Virginia, Mrs.	16 Aug 1879	nr Bridgewater	26 Aug
Ruff, John	last week	Rockbridge Co.	2 Sep
Ragland, S. P., Mr.	Thursday	Richmond	16 Sep
Rusmisl, Simon	7 Sep 1879	Moscow	16 Sep
Russell, James, Capt.	Friday	Harper's Ferry, West Virginia	21 Oct
Riddle, granddaughter of George W.	Thursday	Gilmer Co., West Virginia	4 Nov
Richards, Catherine			18 Nov
Robertson, F.	Thursday	Springfield, Illinois	18 Nov
Randolph, John	24 Jun 1833	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	16 Dec
Raines, Wm. F.	Wednesday	Hagerstown, Maryland	23 Dec
Shanahan, John	30 Dec 1878	Harrisonburg	7 Jan
Smith, Elizabeth	7 Jan 1879	Faquier Co.	14 Jan
Hansbrough, Mrs.			
Smith, Mary Jane, Mrs.	19 Dec 1878	Waynesboro	14 Jan
Sanger, Mr.	12 Jan 1879	Rockingham Co.	21 Jan
Staubus, Newton Luther	23 Dec 1878	nr Mt Solon, Augusta Co.	21 Jan
Staubus, Stever Irene	5 Jan 1879	nr Mt Solon, Augusta Co.	21 Jan
Scribner, John Blair	Monday	New York	28 Jan
Savage, Bill	Friday	Norfolk	4 Feb
Stuart, J. E. B., Major	Thursday	Richmond	11 Feb
Shepperdson, Mack	Tuesday	Henrico Co.	11 Feb
Summey, Christian, Mrs.	Sunday	Shenandoah Co.	11 Feb
Sullivant, Michael	29 Jan 1879		11 Feb
Smith, Jane	Tuesday	nr Wheeling, West Virginia	18 Feb
Sullivan, E. J., Mr.	11 Feb 1879	Harrisonburg	18 Feb
Saumney, Christian	2 Feb 1879	Shenandoah Co.	18 Feb
Stanton, M. (male)	Tuesday	Alabama	25 Feb
Sherman, wife of Gen. T. W.	Wednesday	Newport, Rhode Island	18 Mar
Spitler, Barbara, Mrs.	Friday	Page Co.	18 Mar
Stephenson, John B.	10 Mar 1879	on Jackson's River	18 Mar
Smedly, George	5 Mar 1879	Faquier Co.	18 Mar
Snider, Adam	15 Mar 1879	nr Arbor Hill	25 Mar
Swecker, Mary E., Mrs.	19 Mar 1879	on Mossey Creek, Augusta Co.	1 Apr
Slaven, Marietta V., Mrs.	20 Mar 1879	LaFayette Co., Missouri	8 Apr
Shaffer, Hezekiah	Thursday	Chambersburg, Pennsylvania	22 Apr
Shaffer, Mrs., wife of Hezekiah	21 Feb 1878		22 Apr
Spencer, R. Mumford, Dr.	Saturday	Dinwiddie Co.	22 Apr
Stultz, J. W.	Friday	Henry Co.	22 Apr

Showalter, Marshall	last week	Pochahontas Co., West Virginia	29 Apr
Spears, Mary, Mrs.	26 Apr 1879	Staunton	29 Apr
Sweeny, Wilson	22 Apr 1879	Raleigh Co., West Virginia	6 May
Swartz, Fanny, Mrs.	23 Apr 1879	Bridgewater	6 May
Sipe, William	28 Apr 1879	nr Mt Sidney	6 May
Sulzberger, wife of Martin	Wednesday	Sutter Co., California	20 May
Sulzberger, daughter of Martin	Wednesday	Sutter Co., California	20 May
Seith, D. D.	Friday	Richmond	20 May
Spears, Rhoda	Tuesday	Waynesboro	20 May
Saunders, Martha, Mrs.	Monday	Charlottesville	27 May
Stephenson, Georgie E., Mrs.	Monday	Highland Co.	3 June
Shuey, Elizabeth, Mrs.	20 May 1879	nr Hermitage	3 June
Swingler, Peter	Thursday	Chambersburg, Pennsylvania	10 Jun
Shields, Jas., Gen.	1 Jun 1879	Ottumwa, Iowa	17 Jun
Straughan, John	28 Jun 1879	Staunton	1 Jul
Straughan, James	28 Jun 1879	Staunton	1 Jul
Sumner, Thomas, Capt.	Saturday	New York	15 Jul
Swisher, Samuel H.	17 Jul 1879	nr Spring Hill	29 Jul
Shelton, Phillis	11 Jul 1879	Staunton	5 Aug
Stewart, R. H., Mr.	Monday	Winchester	12 Aug
Stombock, Michael	9 Aug 1879	Page Co.	19 Aug
Stephenson, son of John	week ago	Frederick Co.	26 Aug
Stevens, James N.	week ago	nr Fincastle	26 Aug
Stevens, James N., Mrs.	11 Aug 1879	nr Fincastle	26 Aug
Strickler, C. H., Mr.	recently	Rockbridge Co.	26 Aug
Storke, Elizabeth, Mrs.	recently	Westmoreland Co.	2 Sep
Smith, Daniel G.	25 Aug 1879	Albemarle Co.	2 Sep
Swartz, Jacob W.	22 Aug 1879	Rockingham Co.	2 Sep
Sharp, J. T.	recently	Memphis, Tennessee	16 Sep
Steppens, London	13 Sep 1879	Lynchburg	16 Sep
Sirarta, Harmon	Wednesday	Loudoun Co.	30 Sep
Shull, son of Jacob	Wednesday	nr Naked Creek Church	14 Oct
Shearer, John	29 Sep 1879	Frederick Co.	14 Oct
Smallwood, James	last week	Berkeley Co., West Virginia	21 Oct
Sheppard, Flora A.	Sunday	Skaneateles, New York	28 Oct
Spencer, Lewis	1877	Clark Co., Missouri	11 Nov
Spencer, 4 children of Lewis	1877	Clark Co., Missouri	11 Nov
Spiker, Charles	28 Oct 1879	Shenandoah Co.	11 Nov
Stambaugh, William	Thursday	York Co., Pennsylvania	11 Nov
Sheats, Jordan	Friday	Danielsville, Georgia	18 Nov
Stichler, Frank	Friday	Labanon, Pennsylvania	18 Nov
Simmons, J. B.	few weeks ago	Randolph Co., West Virginia	18 Nov
Summers, Wm. M., Capt.	5 Nov 1879	Highland Co.	25 Nov
Siler, Jacob	Sunday	Rockbridge Co.	2 Dec

Senseney, Ann Virginia	18 Dec 1879	Lexington	30 Dec
Saville, Frances, Mrs.	17 Dec 1879	Rockbridge Co.	30 Dec
Savage, John Henry	Monday	Winchester	30 Dec
Sikes, D. A.	Wednesday	Niagara Falls, New York	30 Dec
Turner, Lemuel, Esq.	26 Dec 1878	Nelson Co.	7 Jan
Thompson, Annie, Mrs.	28 Dec 1878	nr Ellicott City, Maryland	7 Jan
Thompson, John	31 Dec 1878	nr Ellicott City, Maryland	7 Jan
Toliver, child of Geo.	Tuesday	nr Winchester	11 Feb
Thomas, C. Y., Hon.	Wednesday	Henry Co.	18 Feb
Thompson, Charles, Dr.	Thursday	Hanover Co.	18 Feb
Tucker, Thomas	Monday	nr Elysville, Maryland	25 Feb
Triplett, child of Richard	Feb 1879	nr Capon Springs, West Virginia	25 Feb
Thompson, S. F., Mrs.	19 Feb 1879	Goshen	11 Mar
Taylor, George, Col.	Monday	Orange Co.	18 Mar
Taylor, Richard, Gen.	Saturday	New York City	15 Apr
Taylor, Aunt Susan	last night	Sedalia, Missouri	22 Apr
Tilden, Joshua A.	Wednesday	New York	6 May
Thomas, Enoch, Rev.		Augusta Co.	6 May
Thomas, Howell L., Dr.	Friday	Richmond	6 May
Todd, Howard Preston	23 Apr 1879	nr Mt Solon	6 May
Thomas, Mr.	Tuesday	Clifton Forge	13 May
Tarrentine, Alexander	Saturday	Charlotte, North Carolina	3 Jun
Teabo, Pauline E.	18 Jun 1879	Staunton	24 Jun
Taylor, R. S.	Wednesday	Lafayette Co., Missouri	1 Jul
Taylor, Robert	Wednesday	Lafayette Co., Missouri	1 Jul
Thompson, John S., Mrs.	Friday	nr Berryville	15 Jul
Thompson, J. Grant, Capt.		Saratoga Springs, New York	2 Sep
Teabo, Osceola	Tuesday	Augusta Co.	2 Sep
Turner, W. T., Judge	recently	Memphis, Tennessee	16 Sep
Teabo, Lida Hawkins	20 Sep 1879	Staunton	23 Sep
Thompson, Eve	23 Sep 1879	Staunton	30 Sep
Taylor, Henry	23 Sep 1879	Staunton	30 Sep
Taylor, Arthur Herman	13 Sep 1879	Columbia, Tennessee	30 Sep
Thomas, M. A., Mrs.	26 Sep 1879	Staunton	28 Oct
Turner, George D.	17 Nov 1879	nr Staunton	18 Nov
Tutwiler, Henry	Wednesday	nr New Hope	2 Dec
Tutwiler, Leonard	1858	nr Mt Vernon Furnace	2 Dec
Tutwiler, John			2 Dec
Thomas, Columbia, Mrs.	3 Dec 1879	Rockingham Co.	9 Dec
Thomas, William T.	16 Dec 1879	Bristol	23 Dec
Udike, Rebecca J.	28 Jan 1879	Buffalo Forge	4 Feb
Vaughn, Edward	Friday	Rockbridge Co.	4 Feb
Vaughn, Benjamin M.	Saturday	nr Linwood, Pennsylvania	4 Feb
Van Pelt, Mary, Mrs.	24 Jan 1879	Harrisonburg	4 Feb

Vickers, Samuel	Saturday	Tioga Co., Pennsylvania	18 Mar
Wheat, Jordan J.	Tuesday	Baltimore, Maryland	14 Jan
Walker, Benjamin F., Dr.	Wednesday	Augusta Co.	14 Jan
Wine, Jacob	26 Dec 1878	Bridgewater	14 Jan
Winfree, Wm.	few days since	Chesterfield Co.	21 Jan
Whitemeyer, John	Tuesday	Tennessee	21 Jan
Whitemeyer, Mrs., wife of John	Tuesday	Tennessee	21 Jan
Wagoner, Joseph	Tuesday	nr Lewisburg, West Virginia	21 Jan
Williams, J. W. (male)	18 Jan 1879	nr Charlottesville	28 Jan
Woodhouse, H. B., Gen.	Friday	Princess Anne Co.	4 Feb
Whipple, Elisha	Tuesday	Northampton, Ohio	4 Feb
Webster, Ashburton	Wednesday	New York City	4 Feb
Withers, Edmund, Rev.	Friday	nr Norwood	4 Feb
Walker, Dr.	Tuesday	Johnsville, Mississippi	25 Feb
White, Conductor	Tuesday	Alabama	25 Feb
Washington, Geo.	Friday	Louisville, Kentucky	25 Feb
Winn, Alexander	Wednesday	Portsmouth	4 Mar
Wooten, Abe	Saturday	nr Manchester, Tennessee	11 Mar
Winder, James		nr Ronceverte, West Virginia	18 Mar
Walton, Charles K.	Sunday	Louisa Co.	18 Mar
Winegord, Isaac	17 Mar 1879	Port Republic	25 Mar
Wean, Isaac, Capt.	23 Mar 1879	Brock's Gap	1 Apr
White, Frances, Mrs.	26 Mar 1879	Lexington	1 Apr
White, John W., Rev.	12 Mar 1879	Southampton Co.	1 Apr
Williams, Phillip, Mrs.	last week	Winchester	8 Apr
Watson, Walter	Thursday	Newport, Indiana	8 Apr
Weast, Mrs., consort of Jacob	26 Mar 1879	nr McGaheysville	8 Apr
Williams, son of Mrs. Dr.	15 Mar	nr Avon	22 Apr
Wine, John, Rev.	26 Apr 1879	nr Ottobine	6 May
Woodworth, wife of Rev. M. W.	Friday	Winchester	13 May
Wiseman, Chas. F.	Friday	Alleghany Co.	13 May
Wiseman, Chas. F.	This death did not occur. It was a hoax		20 May
Walton, Mary A., Mrs.	Sunday	Woodstock	3 Jun
Wright, William M.	Tuesday	Petersburg	10 Jun
Webb, Spencer	Friday	Petersburg	24 Jun
White, Christian, Col.	Saturday	Richmond	24 Jun
Wren, B. C.	Wednesday	Lafayette Co., Missouri	1 Jul
Winchester, Mr.	month since	Colorado	1 Jul
Weswell, Emily	29 Jun 1879	New York	1 Jul
Weswell, Ada	29 Jun 1879	New York	1 Jul
Westfall, Edwin D.	Tuesday	Springfield, Massachusetts	8 Jul
Wenger, Jacob	Tuesday	Rockingham Co.	29 Jul
White, Henry	Saturday	Norfolk	5 Aug
Wayland, Rachel	Monday	Staunton	5 Aug

Woodram, Linda P., Mrs.	recently	Giles Co.	12 Aug
Wood, Mary S., Mrs.	11 Aug 1879	Charlottesville	19 Aug
White, Guy P., Mrs.	Sunday	Charlottesville	26 Aug
Whitmer, Reuben A.	25 Aug 1879	Mt Crawford	2 Sep
Wheat, Wm. D.	23 Aug 1879	Fairfield	2 Sep
Wilson, Poague	9 Sep	Staunton	16 Sep
Withrow, David	8 Sep 1879	on Bratton's Run	23 Sep
Wright, Lawson A.	2 Oct 1879	Rockingham Co.	7 Oct
Wilson, Thomas C.	24 Sep 1879	Minneapolis, Minnesota	14 Oct
Winfree, Charles J., Dr.	Wednesday	nr Columbia, Ohio	21 Oct
Wilcher, James T.	Sunday	Staunton	21 Oct
Washington, George	Tuesday	Staunton	21 Oct
Walker, Alex., Mrs. (Hannah)	21 Nov 1879	Augusta Co.	25 Nov & 2 Dec
Wilson, Mrs.	Wednesday	Bristol	2 Dec
Winder, A.	Thursday	Chesterfield Co.	9 Dec
White, Theodore A.	Thursday	Greenbrier Co., West Virginia	9 Dec
Whistler, Henry	Saturday	nr Bridgewater	9 Dec
Weaver, Charles S.	19 Nov 1879	Shelby Co., Missouri	9 Dec
Wilson, Thos. P.	Thursday	nr Augusta Church, Augusta Co.	16 Dec
Young, Edwd L., Capt.	Thursday	Norfolk	15 Apr
Young, John R., Rev.	last week	nr Norfolk	5 Aug
Yancey, Lucinda, Mrs.	24 Aug 1879	Rockingham Co.	14 Oct
Young, Bill	Tuesday	Iowa	11 Nov



IN MEMORIAM

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Lt. Col. (Ret.) Walter Merritt McCracken
Mrs. Esther N. Maier
Aldon G. Stogdale
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